



CHINESE REPOSITORY.

 VOL. IX.—NOVEMBER, 1840.—No. 7.

ART. I. *Confessions of an English opium-eater. Fourth edition.*
London: printed for John Taylor, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall.
 1826 pp. 206. From a Correspondent.

THE following remarkable confessions of an English opium eater are carefully condensed and arranged into a continuous narrative from the book bearing this title. The work, from its peculiar style and extraordinary contents, has been regarded by some persons, as fictitious and incredible. But to any one who has studied it, and has any knowledge of the properties of opium, it presents the strongest evidences of its authenticity. The book is its own witness; for who could have written such an one, but an opium eater? No criticism will be offered upon the volume as a whole, the historical detail of the early history of the writer, &c., being quite distinct from the confessions. These are highly valuable, inasmuch as they come from one, who had experienced himself, the effects of opium on the largest scale; and also from his education, very competent to describe what he knew and felt. To those interested in the inquiry, it will prove useful to have such a standard of comparison.

When he first commenced taking opium and the cause of it. He first took opium in the autumn of 1804, to relieve excruciating rheumatic pains of the head and face, from which he had hardly any respite for about twenty days; and which arose, from imprudently plunging his head into a basin of cold water, and with hair thus wetted going to sleep.

The effect of the first dose. Having arrived at his lodgings after the purchase of the drug, it may be supposed he says, 'that I lost

not a moment in taking the quantity prescribed. I was necessarily ignorant of the whole art and mystery of opium taking; and what I took, I took under every disadvantage. But I took it; and in an hour, oh! what a revulsion! what an upheaving from its lowest depths of the inner spirit! what an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes; this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects, which had opened before me, in the abyss of exquisite enjoyment thus suddenly revealed.

The operation and effects of opium. ‘Upon all that has been hitherto written on the subject of opium, whether by travelers in Turkey, or by professors of medicine, I have but one emphatic criticism to pronounce. Lies! lies! lies! First, then, it is not so much affirmed as taken for granted by all who ever mention opium, formally or incidentally, that it does, or can produce intoxication. Laudanum might certainly intoxicate if a man could bear to take enough of it because it contains so much proof spirit. But crude opium, I affirm peremptorily, is incapable of producing any state of body at all resembling that which is produced by alcohol: and not in degree only but even in kind. The pleasure given by wine is always mounting and tending to a crisis after which it declines; that from opium when once generated is stationary for eight or ten hours; wine disorders the mental faculties; opium on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner) introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self possession, opium greatly invigorates it. Wine unsettles and clouds the judgment; opium communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties. The expansion to the benigner feelings is from both, but in those incident to opium, there is no febrile excess or maudlin character, as after wine, but a healthy restoration to that state which the mind would naturally recover upon the removal of any deep seated irritation or pain. In short to sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated or tending to inebriation, is, and feels that he is, in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human, too often the brutal part of his nature: but the opium eater (not suffering from any disease or other remote effects of opium,) feels that the diviner part of his nature is paramount; that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity; and over all is the great light of the majestic intellect. A second error is that the elevation of spirits produced by opium is necessarily followed by a proportionate depression, and that the natural and even immediate consequences of opium is torpor and stagna-

tion animal and mental. This error I shall content myself with simply denying, assuring my reader that for ten years during which I took opium at intervals, the day succeeding to that on which I allowed myself this luxury was always a day of unusually good spirits. With respect to the torpor supposed to follow I deny that also. Certainly opium is classed under the head of narcotics, and some such effect it may produce in the end: but the primary effects of opium are always and in the highest degree to excite and stimulate the system. This first stage of its action always lasted with me during my noviciate for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium eater himself, if he does not so time his exhibition of the dose, as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep."

By way of treating the question illustratively rather than argumentatively, he describes the manner in which he often passed an opium evening in London, either in the busy markets or crowded opera, during the period between 1804 and 1812; yet in candor (he says), "I will admit that markets and theatres are not the appropriate haunts of the opium eater when in the divinest state incident to his enjoyment. In that state, crowds become an oppression to him; music even, too sensual and gross. He naturally seeks solitude and silence as indispensable conditions of those traces or profoundest reveries, which are the crown and consummation of what opium can do for human nature."

From 1804 to 1812, a period of eight years, he took opium at intervals. "To this moderate and temperate use of the article (he does not mention the extent of the dose), I may ascribe it I suppose that as yet, at least (i. e. 1812), I am ignorant and unsuspecting of the avenging terrors which opium has in store for those who abuse its lenity. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that hitherto I have been only a dilettante eater of opium: eight years' practice even, with the single precaution of allowing sufficient intervals between every indulgence, has not been sufficient to make opium necessary to me as an article of diet."

When he first became a regular opium eater, and the cause of it. "I have often been asked how I first came to be a regular opium eater; and have suffered very unjustly in the opinion of my acquaintance, from being reputed to have brought upon myself all the sufferings which I shall have to record, by a long indulgence in this practice purely for the sake of creating an artificial state of pleasurable excitement. This however is a misrepresentation of my case.

True it is that for nearly ten years I did occasionally take opium, for the sake of the exquisite pleasure it gave me; but so long as I took it with this view, I was effectually protected from all material bad consequences, by the necessity of interposing long intervals between the several acts of indulgence in order to renew the pleasurable sensations. It was not for the purpose of creating pleasure, but of mitigating pain in the severest degree, that I first began to use opium as an article of diet." In 1813, he was seized with an appalling irritation of the stomach, from which he states he suffered so much in his boyish days, and which originated from long and repeated abstinence from food. It had revived at intervals; and now under unfavorable circumstances from depression of spirits, it attacked him with a violence that yielded to no remedies but opium. This was the cause of his taking opium daily, and (he says), I could not have done otherwise. From this date, he writes, the reader is to consider me a regular and confirmed opium eater, of which to ask whether on any particular day, he had, or had not taken opium, would be to ask whether his lungs had performed respiration, or the heart fulfilled its functions.

Up to 1816-17, he judged himself to have been a happy man. "But now farewell, a long farewell to happiness, winter and summer! Farewell to smiles and laughter, farewell to peace of mind, to hope and to tranquil dreams, and to the blessed consolations of sleep." For I have now to record—

The pains of opium. "My studies have now been long interrupted. Mathematics and intellectual philosophy for instance have become insupportable to me. I shrunk from them with a sense of powerless and infantile feebleness, that gave me an anguish the greater from remembering the time when I grappled with them to my own hourly delight. In this state of imbecility, I for amusement turned my attention to political economy, for great as was the prostration of my powers at this time, I could not forget my knowledge. This exertion, however, was but a temporary flash. I have thus described and illustrated my intellectual torpor in terms that apply more or less to every part of the four years during which I was under the Circean spells of opium. But for misery and suffering I might indeed, be said to have existed in a dormant state. The opium eater loses none of his moral sensibilities or aspirations: he wishes and longs as earnestly as ever, to realize what he believes possible, and feels to be exacted by duty; but his intellectual apprehension of what is possible infinitely outruns his power to attempt it. He lies under the

weight of incubus and nightmare: he lies in sight of all that he would fain to perform just as a man forcibly confined to his bed by the mortal languor of a relaxing disease, who is compelled to witness injury or outrage offered to some object of his affection: he curses the spells which chain him down from motion: he would lay down his life if he might but get up and walk, but he is powerless as an infant and cannot even attempt to rise."

It was about this time, viz. the middle of 1817, that the faculty of dreaming became very distressing to him, and eventually the immediate and proximate cause of his acutest suffering. He notices the four following facts, preliminary to describing the peculiar character of his dreams.

"1. That as the creative state of the eye increased, a sympathy seemed to arise between the waking and the dreaming states of the brain in one point, that whatsoever I happened to call up and to trace by a voluntary act upon the darkness was very apt to transfer itself to my dreams; so that I feared to exercise this faculty, for whatsoever things capable of being visually represented, I did but think of in the darkness, immediately shaped themselves into phantoms of the eye; and by a process apparently no less inevitable when thus once traced in faint and visionary colors they were drawn out into insufferable splendor that fretted my heart.

"2. For this and all other changes in my dreams, were accompanied by deep seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy, such as are wholly incommunicable by words. I seemed every night to descend not metaphorically but literally to descend, into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever reascend.

"3. The sense of shape, and in the end the sense of time were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c., were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This however did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time. I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millenium passed in that time or however, of a duration far beyond the limits of my human experience.

"4. The minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years were often revived."

"In the early stage of my malady, the splendor of my dreams were chiefly architectural: and I beheld such pomp of cities and palaces

as were never yet beheld by the waking eye unless in the clouds." "To my architecture succeeded dreams of lakes, and silvery expanses of water, and these became seas and oceans; next followed the tyranny of the human face which never left me until the winding up of my case. The sea appeared paved with innumerable faces upturned to the heavens, imploring, wrathful, despairing, &c."

"Dreams of oriental imagery and mythological tortures were impressed upon me with unimaginable horror. Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat, and vertical sun lights, I brought together all creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China or Hindostan. From kindred feelings I soon brought Egypt, and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by paroquets, by crockatoos. I ran into pagodas, and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms; I was the idol; I was the priest; I was worshiped; I was sacrificed. I fled from the wrath of Brahma through all the forests of Asia; Vishnu hated me; Siva laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris; I had done a deed which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed with cancerous kisses by crocodiles; and laid, confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud, &c." "Over every form, and threat, and punishment and dim sightless incarceration, brooded a sense of eternity and infinity that drove me into an oppression as of madness."

How this conflict of horrors was finally brought to its crisis. "The reader is aware that opium had long ceased to found its empire on spells of pleasure; it was solely by the tortures connected with the attempt to abjure it, that it kept its hold. However, a crisis arrived, I saw that I must die if I continued the opium; I determined, therefore, if that should be required, to die in throwing it off. I triumphed; but think not, reader, that therefore my sufferings were ended, nor think of me as one sitting in a dejected state."

The extent to which he took opium. From 1804 to 1813, the luxury was used at intervals; the amount of dose is not mentioned. From 1813 to 1820, or thereabouts, he took it continuously every day in an increasing ratio. His highest dose was 8000 drops or about nine ounces of laudanum; the usual medicinal dose of which is from 15 to 25 drops, and not five and twenty ounces as has been seen recommended in a pirated edition of Buchan's Domestic Medicine.

The mode, and the effects, of relinquishing the habit. His first task was to reduce it at once to one eighth part; that is to 1000 drops, or about 40 grains of solid opium, and then to thirty, and as fast as he could to twelve grains, and from that to a quantity ranging between 300 and 160 drops, which was comparatively so insignificant a dose that he regarded the victory as having been achieved, and its use renounced. The effects which followed the first descent was instantaneous; he states "the cloud of profoundest melancholy which rested upon my brain like some black vapors upon the summits of the mountains, drew off in one day; again I was happy; my brain performed its functions as healthily as before, and my feelings of pleasure expanded themselves to all around me." In no long time, after suffering my readers to think of me as a reformed opium eater, I became sensible that the effort which remained, (*viz.* to entirely relinquish the small quantity named above,) would cost me far more energy than I had anticipated; but the necessity for making it was more apparent every month. In particular, I became aware of an increasing callousness or defect of sensibility of the stomach, which I imagined might imply a schirrous state of that organ either formed or forming. Opium therefore I resolved wholly to abjure, as soon as I should find myself at liberty to bend my undivided attention and energy to this purpose. On the 24th of June (the year not mentioned), I began my experiment; I must premise that about 170 or 180 drops had been my ordinary allowance for many months; occasionally I had run up as high as 500, and once nearly to 700; in repeated preludes to my final experiment, I had also gone as low as 100 drops, but had found it impossible to stand it beyond the fourth day; 130 drops a day for three days; the fourth I plunged at once to eighty. The misery which I now suffered took the conceit out of me at once; for about a month I continued off and on about this mark; then I sunk to 60, and the next day to none at all. This was the first day, for nearly ten years, that I had existed without opium. I persevered, in my abstinence for 90 hours; upwards of half a week. Then I took, ask me not how much; say ye severest what would ye have done? Then I abstained again; then took about 25 drops; then abstained and so on.

"Meantime the symptoms which attended my case for the first six weeks of the experiment, were these: enormous irritability and excitement of the whole system: the stomach in particular restored to a full feeling of vitality and sensibility; but often in great pain; unceasing restlessness night and day. Sleep I scarcely knew what it

was, three hours out of the twenty four was the utmost I had, and that so agitated and shallow that I heard every sound that was near me; lower jaw constantly swelling; mouth ulcerated, violent sternutation, sometimes lasting for two hours at a time, and recurring twice or three times a day, violent catarrh, great impatience, irritability, and restlessness, &c. By the advice of a surgeon I tried bitters; for a short time these greatly mitigated my sufferings, and about the forty-second day of the experiment, the symptoms already noticed began to retire, and new ones to arise of a different, and far more tormenting class." What these were he felt an antipathy to mention. 1st, because the mind revolts from retracing circumstantially any sufferings from which it is removed by too short or by no interval; and 2d, the doubts whether this latter state be any way referable to opium.

Why he did not release himself from the horrors of opium by leaving it off, or diminishing it, earlier? To this he briefly answers: it might be supposed that I yielded to the fascinations of opium too easily. It cannot be supposed that any man can be charmed by its terrors. The reader may be sure, therefore, that I made attempts innumerable to reduce the quantity. I add, that those who witnessed the agonies of those attempts, and not myself, were the first to beg me to desist. But could not I have reduced it a drop a day, or by adding water have bisected or trisected a drop? A thousand drops bisected would thus have taken nearly six years to reduce; and that way would certainly not have answered. To a certain point it can be reduced with ease and even pleasure, but after that point further reduction causes intense suffering.

Remarks upon the preceding confessions. 1. The cause of his taking opium in the first instance was distinctly to relieve suffering. Excruciating pains of the nerves supplying the face and head produced intense bodily anguish, and the whole system sympathized in the morbid excitement. These the opium completely removed, followed by a delightful composure, an undisturbed serenity, an exquisite enjoyment, unknown before, but now revealed, and not forgotten. For the pleasurable excitement was again sought, at intervals, for a period of eight years or more. He acknowledges that it was solely for the gratification of his senses that he now took this fascinating drug; and truly does he observe that he was ignorant and unsuspecting, of the avenging terrors that were in store for him. The future was forgotten in the transient enjoyment of the present. The time came when opium must be used daily as a regular article of diet

The reason, whether ostensible or real, was for the purpose of mitigating appalling irritation and pain of the stomach. Be it so; it yielded to opium; and the habit of eating it daily was thoroughly confirmed. The cause of the gastric irritation at this time is doubtful, it might have been from the drug, or the result of previous disease, or from both.

The cause which operated so strongly upon 'the opium eater,' the writer believes has a common influence upon most other persons addicted to the practice. In China, there is no doubt very many commence smoking opium, simply because it is fashionable, and they are persuaded to do it by friends; and finding it excite pleasurable sensations continue it at intervals till the habit, growing upon them, becomes necessarily established. But the writer is assured that numbers commence smoking opium, from the idea of its being beneficial to them as a medicine. Their physicians very usually prescribe it in coughs, difficulty of breathing, fever, and many other ailments and local pains. The consequence is, the individual unsuspectingly and insidiously forms a habit which, he finds afterwards to his dismay, he is unable to renounce. The writer has had cases of such under treatment. How many too in England become addicted to this dangerous practice, from first using it as a medicine to alleviate pain, and then either from the desire of self-gratification, or in part from necessity, continue regularly increasing the dose. The late Rev. R. Hall certainly may be adduced as an instance of the latter class. In painful chronic diseases nothing is more common than when patients have once knowingly tasted of the sedative effects of opium, to earnestly petition for more opium, more opium. In such cases, the greatest caution is found necessary in so administering this dose, or other remedies of a like nature, as to produce its beneficial effects without the necessity of habitually using it.

So fascinating is opium, whether smoked or eaten at the onset, and for some time if taken at intervals, that it is not surprising that it should be so extensively employed as a luxury. And a more seductive one cannot exist. Step by step imperceptibly, and little by little, it insinuates itself into the economy, and agreeably exciting the brain and nervous system, its influence is cherished until it undermines the whole fabric. It is said that if those who take opium would be satisfied with a moderate allowance no harm would follow. This is indeed begging the question. For, what is moderation to one man is excess to another, and vice versa; moreover the peculiarity of this habit is, that it is not, or cannot be, satisfied with small quantities, or

a fixed ratio, but requires for its gratification, accumulative doses. The history of all opium smokers or eaters, will, it is believed, confirm the truth of this statement. The period, when taken at intervals, may vary very much, but the time comes sooner or later, that this proves to be an introduction to its regular use. The Chinese call this the time of play, which with them very commonly lasts two or three years, then follows the game in good earnest. Mr. De Quinsy, after three years' daily use and about eight at intervals, still regarded himself as a happy man. But now alas! his happiness forsook him—"a long farewell." He found now to his sorrow, that opium had *pains* as well as pleasures. His mental powers were prostrated almost to imbecility, torpor had succeeded to excitement, and a brilliant imagination had become the fruitful source of his acutest suffering. He is harassed by day, and haunted at night. Oriental imagery, the most beautiful under the sun, was impressed upon his mind with unimaginable horror! The woes of opium are at last brought to a crisis. "He saw that he must die if he continued the opium. He therefore determined if that should be required, to die in throwing it off. Wise resolution! but difficult, *most* difficult to perform. *He* triumphed, but not without nearly wresting soul and body asunder. Of all spells this is the most tormenting. Whether the Chinese are more fickle in purpose, or more weak in resolution than 'the opium eater,' I cannot say, only it is very evident that without the aid of medicine they cannot, or at least do not, throw off the accursed habit. They are bound down as with iron fetters, for the resolution and the will are often wanting, although the judgment requires no convincing—so resistless is the tyranny of opium. To the writer, (even after what has been said above) it is still a marvelous thing that there should be such infatuation in the Chinese to commence, and continue the use of a luxury which they must know if indulged in will ruin their present prospects and happiness, and destroy the power of making provision for the future. But is it cause for wonder, when we see our own countrymen so insatiable after alcohol?

The symptoms which 'the opium eater' experienced both before and after he relinquished the drug, are very similar to those experienced by this people. They have that mental torpor, that inaptitude for all exertion, those excited dreams, that irritability of the stomach and alimentary canal, impairment of the digestive powers, with other symptoms peculiar to that state, which De Quinsy felt. Of course there is a difference, but still a striking similarity between them. On examining the reasons why he did not abandon the habit earlier, it

is very clear that he wanted the motive, a powerful impulse. The strongest was finally presented to him and it proved sufficient. Probably very much of his anguish would have been prevented, had his course of descent been less rapid, and more equally graduated, with other medicines combined with the bitters. The cure effected upon any of the Chinese by their own physicians is chiefly so by opium pills, which is the smokable extract dried and rolled, which they take in a descending series.

I apprehend there are not many persons in China (but this is entire supposition) who are in the habit of taking so much opium as De Quinsy; his highest dose was 8000 drops, which is equal to about 320 grains of solid opium, or 9 ounces of laudanum. An individual must smoke eight mace to take what is equal to 300 grains, not calculating the difference in point of purity and strength,—the smokable extract being superior to any other. The remark which is made, that “to a certain point the dose can be reduced with ease and pleasure, but after that point further reduction causes intense suffering,” is abundantly proved in the experience of all who eat or smoke opium. In the account before us, it was found comparatively easy to reduce the amount one eighth, and from that to a quantity averaging from 300 to 160 drops a day. But to diminish it farther was a matter of great difficulty and pain. It is the same with the Chinese. From smoking, from one to two or more mace, they can reduce it at once to a few candareens; but if they attempt to continue the reduction, and finally leave off the opium altogether, they are seized with symptoms so peculiarly distressing, (as have been already mentioned in a previous number of the *Repository*,) that to alleviate them they have recourse again to their foe, the opium; which is certainly more seductive and more difficult to renounce than its rival, alcohol.

Before concluding, it is proper that reference should be made, to the criticism upon travelers in Turkey, and medical professors, also to his observations that the effects of opium differ both in degree and *kind* from those of alcohol, and are not followed by depression and torpor, as represented by some. No wonder that he thus speaks of the account of travelers in Turkey, for they are directly opposed one to another, both not being strictly correct. Professors of medicine also somewhat differ in their opinion when writing upon the effects of continued and accumulative doses of opium. But why? Because it is a subject in which they themselves have had little or no experience, with at least few exceptions, and those chiefly toxicologists. Its operation as a medicine, and its operation when used as a luxury,

are very different: and the facts relating to the latter, can only be acquired by observation upon those addicted to the practice. Nevertheless, while there is not *considerable* accurate information to be obtained from medical writings on this topic, there is amply sufficient to contradict the assertion of the author. And it is also to be recollected that when the 'confessions' first made their appearance, much less was known and said respecting opium as a luxury, than now. When he states that opium does not intoxicate (according to the proper signification of that word), he speaks the truth; the Malays and the Turks are no exception to this rule, for the opposite is to be attributed to other apparent causes. But when he peremptorily affirms, that crude opium is incapable of producing any state of body *at all* resembling that which is produced by alcohol, he asserts probably more than he is warranted to do; for as they are both diffusible stimulants, acting powerfully on the brain and nervous system, their operation cannot be so entirely dissimilar as is here represented. The depression and torpor which succeeds, he denies on false premises. For it is a law of our nature, that undue excitement of either our mental or physical powers, or both, is followed by a corresponding depression and relaxation. It is so with opium; when used in small quantities, or at intervals, the collapse of the system may be unnoticed, and soon recovered from, but it eventually becomes most conspicuous and distressing, as it did in "the opium eater" when he habitually used the drug; in fact it is to obviate this, that the stimulus is regularly supplied. Now such artificial excitement, whether from alcoholic drinks or opium, is unnatural and pernicious.

An individual in the enjoyment of good health requires no such stimuli for the maintenance of it, for they are not only incapable of imparting real strength, but actually lessen it by exhausting the natural powers; 1st, indirectly by diminishing, and in some cases entirely preventing the necessary supply of nourishment by the irritation and derangement they produce on the digestive apparatus; and 2dly, directly, by the over excitement which they diffuse generally throughout the system, and which is strikingly shown to be incompatible with the natural energies of the body, and an occasion of considerable expenditure of vital power, by the depression, weakness, and functional disturbance that succeed. This is an infringement upon the laws of our organization, which cannot be long sustained with impunity

ART. II. *Embassies between the court of Ava and Peking, translated from Burmese Chronicles, by lieut.-colonel H. Burney, late resident in Ava.*

Our number for August contains a narrative of a four years' war between Burmah and China, translated from Burmese chronicles by lieutenant-colonel Burney, and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. From the 66th and 67th Nos. of that Journal, we will now proceed to select the principal and most interesting details of three successive embassies. According to colonel Burney, the Chinese never surrendered the chiefs of Theinni, Bamoo and Mó-gaung, agreeable to the terms of the treaty concluded at Bamoo, on the 13th of December, 1769; nor did he find mention made of any correspondence between the sovereigns of the two countries, until shortly after Men-dará-gyíh (Syme's Minderagee) put the monarch his nephew to death, and seized on the throne in the year 1781; at which time he appears to have deputed a small party for the purpose of opening a communication with China; but the envoys were seized by the Chinese and carried into Tartary. However, in 1787 an embassy came to Ava from the celestial court. As the ceremony of the public audience, given to these ambassadors, corresponded in many points with that observed at the audience given to the British resident, on his first arrival at Ava in 1830, colonel Burney gives us the following description of it, extracted from the 33d volume of the chronicles,—after which he proceeds with the narrative.

“On Tuesday, the 3d of April, 1787, the king of Ava (Men-dará-gyíh) received a report from the tsô:buáh and officers of Theinni, that a Chinese embassy, consisting of upwards of 300 men with E tsô-yé as the chief envoy, had arrived at Theinni, with a letter on gold and costly presents from the emperor of China, for the purpose of establishing peace and friendship between the two great countries. His majesty ordered the Chinese embassy to be conveyed to the capital (at that time Amarapúra), by the road leading from Theinni through Thibô, Maing-toûn, Maing-kaing, Yauk-zauk, Pwê-lha, and Yuá-ngăn, down by the Nat-theit pass and the road along the southern paddy lands (Taung-bhetlay).—The Chinese mission accordingly left Theinni on Sunday, the 6th of May, 1787, and on reaching Nyaung-ní-beng (red peupl tree), embarked in boats (on the Myít-ngay), and came to Yan-aung ghát at Amarapúra, where they landed

and took possession of the buildings constructed for their accommodation. The emperor of China's letter was duly translated on Tuesday, the 29th May; and on Sunday, the 3d of June, the embassy was received by the king in the following manner:—

“The streets and lanes of Amarapura having been ornamented, the officers of the Lluot-tô and Yoŭn-do,* dressed in their uniforms with ear-rings, having taken their proper places within those buildings, the white elephant, and Shue-wen, the elephant rode by the king, and other elephants with all their trappings, on being drawn out, and the body guard and other troops formed in front of the Lluot-tô and hall of audience, and within the court-yard of the palace, the Chinese ambassadors were brought from their house at Yan-aung ghât in the following order:—First, two officers with long rods; then musketeers to the right and left; then, seated upon an elephant, the king's writer, Yanda-meit-gyô-den, dressed in full uniform, bearing an octagon betel cup containing the emperor of China's letter; next a sedan chair with the box containing the images of Byamhá; then a sedan chair with a box of royal presents; then another sedan chair with another box of presents; then ten horses intended as presents; and then followed the principal Chinese ambassador, E tshô-yé, mounted on an elephant with housings of scarlet broadcloth edged with silk. After him came four of the junior envoys on horseback; and after them, the officer appointed to escort the mission.

“The procession entered the Tset-shyen gateway on the western face of the city, and stopped on reaching the Yoŭn-dô. The box bearing the royal letter was deposited on a fine white mat with an ornamental border spread in the verandah of the building, where the ambassadors also were placed, the royal presents being arranged on each side. The princes of the blood and the other great officers of state then passed into the palace in state, surrounded by their respective suites, and with all their insignia of rank. Last of all passed the heir-apparent, the glorious Ain-ye-meng. When all was quiet, the ambassadors, preceded by the royal letter and presents, were taken in, the ambassadors being made to stop and bow their heads repeatedly along the whole road in the usual way.† The king's writer bearing the box containing the royal letter, stopped not far from the eastern steps of the hall of audience, when a thăn-dô-zen (register of royal orders) went down and took the letter up, and placed it on a white mat that was spread for the purpose. The ambassadors as-

* The house in which the ministers of state assembled and the court of justice.

† The British resident refused to make these obeisances.

cended by the northern steps, and took their seats at the appointed place; whilst all the presents were put down on the ground in front of the hall of audience. The whole being assembled, the lord of many white elephants, the lord of life, and great king of righteousness, wearing the Mahá-muni crown of inestimable value, and the principal queen, dressed in the Gana-matta-pa-kua jewel, surrounded by all the other queens and concubines, came forth, and on the U-gen folding doors being opened by the princesses, his majesty the king and the principal queen took their seats on the Thiháthana yázá throne. The state drum, beat when his majesty comes out, was then struck three times forcibly and three times gently, and the whole band played. When the music ceased, the eight consecrating Bráhmans performed the customary ceremony of consecration, and the flowers and water presented by the Bráhmans, were received by Baung-dô-pyen and Nanda-then khaya in a gold cup ornamented with the nine precious stones.

“The ná:khăn-dô, (royal reporter) Zeya Nôrat,ha, then brought to the king's notice seven images of Budha which his majesty was to give in charity. His majesty observed, ‘let the royal gift be suitably escorted and delivered;’ which order was repeated by the ná:khăn to the shue-tait-wún, who after ordering the royal drum to be beaten, conveyed the images out of the hall of audience.

“The thăn-dô-găn, (receiver of royal mándates) Meng-ngay-ihiri, then came up the steps used by the king, and kneeling at the usual place, read out a list of the royal presents. The ná:khăn-dô, Kyô-zuánô-rat,há, next proceeded right in front of his majesty, and kneeling, read out from an ornamented book the following translation, which had been made of the emperor of China's letter.

“The elder brother, Udí Bua', (emperor of China,) who rules over the great kingdoms to the eastward, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, addresses affectionately his younger brother, the lord of the white, red and mottled elephants, who rules over the great kingdoms to the westward, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, lord of the amber mines, and sun-descended king and master of the golden palace. The ancestors of the two brothers have inherited and ruled in succession in this *Zabúdipa* island, lying to the southward of *Myen:mô* mount, from the first creation of the world; and the two brothers are enjoying in the eastern and western great kingdoms, prosperity equal to that of the Thagyá Nat,* with very great glory, power, and authority. From the time even of our ancestors there has been

* This is the Chinese *Tcên*, or *Shang Tcên*, lord of heaven, and the same as the Hindu god *Indra*, one of whose names, *Sugra*, although written in Burmese *Thugrá*, is pronounced *Thagyá*.

no enmity. The younger brother, the sun-deseended king, is an independent sovereign, receiving the homage of great kingdoms, and of an hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs. The elder brother also is an independent sovereign, receiving the homage of great kingdoms, and of an hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs. If the two brothers enter into a permanent agreement and friendship, conformably to the union which has subsisted between them uninterruptedly in former states of existence, it will be like a nail driven in (as firm) to their posterity. The elder brother, who possesses the great kingdoms, and the golden umbrella and palace to the eastward, as well as his queen, sons, daughters, nobles, officers, and the inhabitants of his country, are in the enjoyment of health, peace, and happiness; and he desires to learn, that his younger brother, who possesses the great kingdoms and the golden umbrella and palace to the westward, the master of the golden palace, as well as his queen, eldest son, the heir-apparent, his other sons and daughters, nobles, officers, and all the inhabitants of his country, are also in the enjoyment of health, peace, and happiness.

‘For one reason, because friendship has existed from former states of being; and for another, because the elder loves the younger brother; he sends, with a royal letter on gold, a piece of gold, and desires that two pieces of gold may become like this one piece. It is now seventeen years since the gold and silver road, and gold and silver bridge, have not been opened or traversed between the elder brother and younger brother, pursuant to the arrangement made in 1769, that ambassadors of rank should pass between the two great countries, in order that a sincere friendship and esteem might arise. When friendship has been established between the two great countries, each must receive favors from the other. The elder brother has in front of his palace and worships eight images of Byamhá,* which it has been the custom to worship from the creation of the world; but loving the younger brother, and desiring that he should worship in the same manner, the elder brother presents these images to the younger. If the younger brother worships them, his glory and power will be as resplendent as the rising sun. The son of the lord of *Kaing:mah*, who wears a red umbrella, and is always near the person of the elder brother, is sent to the younger brother with a royal letter on gold, and with the following presents:—Eight images of Byamyá, cast in gold; eight carpets; ten pieces of gold cloth; ten horses.

‘Let the younger brother master of the golden palace, delay not, after the arrival of this ambassador in his presence, to appoint ambassadors on his part, and send them with a royal letter on gold. When the son of the lord of *Kaing:mah* returns to the elder brother, it will be the same as if the royal countenance of the younger brother, the master of the golden palace, has been seen.’

“After the nā:khān-dô, Kyô-zuánô-rat,há had read out the above royal letter, his majesty said, ‘E tshô-yé, how many days were you

* Byamhá, written Bramha is a being of the superior celestial regions of the Buddhists.

coming from the capital of China to Amarapura? The *nā khān*, *Pyô-gyîh-mhû*, repeated the question to the Chinese interpreter, who translated it to the ambassador. The ambassador replied: 'your majesty's slaves, owing to your majesty's excellent virtues, were one hundred and sixty-four days coming from the capital of China to your majesty's feet.' This answer was translated by the Chinese interpreter to the *nā:khān-dô*, who submitted it to his majesty. The king then said: 'E tshô:ye, when you quitted the capital of China, were my royal kinsman, the emperor of China, and his queen and children, and relatives, all in good health?' The question was communicated to the ambassador as before, and the ambassador replied: 'when your majesty's slaves quitted the capital of China for your majesty's feet, your majesty's royal kinsman, the emperor of China, and his queen, and children, and relatives were all in good health;' which answer was submitted to the king in the same manner as before. The king then said: 'E tshô:yé, go back quickly; the emperor of China will desire to receive intelligence of everything in this country.' This order was communicated as before to the ambassadors, who bowed down their heads. The king then presented the principal ambassador, E tshô:yé, with five hundred ticals, a silver cup weighing eleven ticals, a ruby ring weighing one tical, and of the value of one hundred and fifty ticals, a horse with saddle and bridle complete, ten cubits of scarlet broadcloth, five pieces of cotton cloth, five pieces of handkerchief, one piece of chintz, two large lacquered-ware boxes, and one small one. To each of the four junior ambassadors, his majesty presented at the same time three hundred ticals, one silver cup weighing eleven ticals, one ruby ring weighing half a tical, and of the value of one hundred ticals, five cubits of scarlet cloth, two pieces of chintz, a horse with saddle and bridle complete, a carpet, one large lacquered-ware box, and two small ones.

"The silver gong was then struck five times, and the drum, which is used when his majesty enters the palace, was beaten, and his majesty retired. The ambassadors were first conveyed from the hall of audience to the eastern Youm, where they were made to stand until the princes and all the nobles and officers passed to their respective houses; after which they were taken to the house allotted for them, by the same route as that by which they had been before brought.

"On Sunday, the 10th of June, 1787, his majesty addressed the following letter and presents to the emperor of China, and appointed *Let-yue:gyîh-mhû*, *Ne-myô:Shue-daung*, *Thîhagyô-gaung* and *Welu-*

tháyá, ambassadors on his part, to proceed to China in company with the Chinese ambassadors.

“The protector of religion, the sun-deseended king of righteousness, bearing the name and title of *Thiri pawara wazaya nanta yutha tiri hawaná ditiya dipadi pandita mahá dhamma rája-dirája*,* owner of the white, red, and mottled elephants, and proprietor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, and amber, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs of the westward, affectionately addresses the royal friend, the lord of the golden palace, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. No enmity having existed between the two great eastern and western kingdoms from the first creation of the world, and both being independent sovereigns who have possessed a golden umbrella and palace from generation to generation, and the homage of a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, the royal friend deputed the son of the lord of *Kaṅg-mah*, who arrived at the great and golden city of *Amarapura* on the 26th May, 1787. The royal letter and the presents consisting of eight images of the *A'batthara† Byamhá*, ten carpets, ten pieces of gold cloth and ten horses, having been arranged in front of the throne and hall of audience, his majesty, attended by the heir-apparent, his royal brothers and sons, and all his officers, came forth and sat on the throne, and caused the royal letter to be read out. His majesty was exceedingly pleased to hear, that if a friendship like the union which has always existed in former states of existence between the kings of the two countries, and an agreement as fixed and permanent as a nail driven in, be entered into, it would be to posterity from generation to generation like two pieces of gold converted into one (as inseparable); and also, that the royal friend the lord of the golden palace himself and his queen, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers, are in the enjoyment of health. The royal friend, lord of the golden palace, who rules over a hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, is also in the enjoyment of health, as well as his queen, heir-apparent, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers are in the enjoyment of health. The royal friend, lord of the golden palace, who rules over a hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, is also in the enjoyment of health as well as his queen, heir-apparent, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers. Friendship which had always existed in former states of existence, is now become a royal friendship. When the two great countries have established friendship, each must receive favors from the other. The eight images of *A'batthara Byamhá* which were sent with a desire that they might be worshiped by the royal friend, have been placed in a proper suitable manner in front of the palace, under pyramidal buildings covered with gold and silver. Desire is also

* The meaning of the Páli words of this long title is thus rendered by the Burmese:—“the illustrious, excellent and greatest conqueror, whose glory is boundless and substantial, who will rule over the three orders of beings with surpassing power, the wise and great king of righteousness, the king of kings.

† *A'batthara* is the sixth of the 20 stages or stories of the superior celestial regions.

felt that approbation be given to the merit of constantly upholding and protecting the religion of the deity (Gaudama), who is full of glory and power, who can give relief to the kings of men, Nats, and Byamhás, who has no equal in the three worlds, and who has been worshiped from generation to generation by the sun-descended independent kings that have ruled over the great kingdoms to the westward. Ne-myo-Shuedaung, a nobleman who is in the immediate service of the royal friend, and Thíha-gyô-gaung and Welutháya, have been appointed ambassadors to accompany the son of the lord of Kaíng:mah, and are deputed with a royal letter on gold and with royal presents, consisting of four elephants, one hundred viss weight of elephant's teeth, an ivory helmet surmounted by a ruby, and another encircled with rubies and surmounted by a sapphire, two ruby rings, one sapphire ring, one viss weight of Mobyé stone, one piece of yellow broadcloth, one piece of green broadcloth, ten pieces of clintz, ten pieces of handkerchief, ten carpets, one hundred books of gold leaf, one hundred books of silver leaf, ten viss weight of white perfume, four large lacquered-ware boxes, and fifty small lacquered-ware boxes. Let the ambassadors return quickly and without delay, and when they return, it will be as if the royal friend had been met, and conversed with."

On the return of these Burmese ambassadors from Peking in the beginning of the year 1789, they submitted a report of their proceedings, of which report the following is a free translation:—

"We left Amarapúra the 24th of June, 1787, and in twelve days' journey, on 6th July, arrived at the city of Theinní, where we stopped nine days for the purpose of recruiting the elephants intended as presents for the emperor of China. On the 16th July, we left Theinní, and in fifteen days' journey reached Kaíng:mah, where we stopped more than five months, and transmitted to the golden feet a report of certain discussions, which took place between us and some Chinese officers there. On receiving his majesty's orders that we should proceed, we left Kaíng:mah on the 12th January, 1788, amounting altogether to one hundred and twenty-five men; and on the 23d arrived at the city of Shuen-lí, which the Shans call Maing-tsán. Here we met two officers, Tsoín-shue and Tí tǎyín, whom the tsungtūh or governor-general of Yunnan had deputed to meet us; and a report of our discussions with whom we forwarded to the golden feet. We had to wait again for more than five months, whilst the tsungtūh sent a report of our arrival to Peking. On the 25th June, 1788, the governor of Maing-tsán received a letter from the tsungtūh ordering him to let the Burmese ambassadors advance; and on the following day, attended by the governor Khuá tálôyé and interpreter Wún tsoín-yé with one hundred men, we left Maing-tsán, and on the 1st July reached the city of Tāthí (Tali?), where the governor

came from Maing:tshí (Yunnan), on the 12th July, to meet the royal letter and presents. On the 21st July, orders from the emperor of China reached the governor, who informed us, that he had received the imperial orders to allow the ambassadors to proceed, and that the emperor had also ordered, that the envoys who had come from the great western country, from the royal friend and lord of the golden palace, should be conveyed to Peking in fifty-one days; and that the governors, tetüh and other officers, along the whole route, should treat the ambassadors with every respect, and at the regular stages supply them with provisions, and entertain them with music, plays, &c. The governor further said, that similar orders had been sent to all the other officers along the route, and that he would prepare some presents for his majesty the king of Ava, which he desired we should forward by some proper persons with a report of our proceedings. We accordingly sent Danutazaung:yé and Tset-yan-nhaing to Amara-púra with the tsungtüh's presents, and left Tãthi on the 23d July with thirty-seven men, attended by Tautait Hô tálâyé, Khuá talô-yé, and the interpreter Wun tsoún-yé. In seven days' journey we reached the city of Maing-tshí (Yunnan), where we stopped one day, and then continuing our route, reached the city of Kûetsô (Kuechow) in nine days' journey, on the 8th August, 1788. On the 12th we came to the city of Chinyuen foo dependent on Kewichow, where, on the following day, we embarked in a boats and dropped down the stream until the 20th, when we disembarked at the landing place at Rïyen or Yi-yen, and continued our route by land. On the 22d August, we came to the city of Changshá foo in the district of Hünán, and in eight days' journey more to the city of Wü-tsheng-fü in the district of Húpê. On the 12th September, in thirteen days' journey, we came to the city of Tshí-chow, beyond the district Hônán and in that of Tsitli (Petcheli). In seven more days; on the 19th September, we reached Pauk-tin-fü, the principal city of Tsitli, and on the 23d reached the city of Lukô Khyauk-ken, six miles distant from the capital, Peking. The emperor not being there but at Yê-hô in Tartary, seven days' journey to the northeast of Peking, we left the city of Lukô Khyauk-ken on the 14th, and in three days came to the boundary of Tartary to the Hû-pä-khê fort line of wall. In two days more we came to the city of Länphyin heên, where the chief of the chokey met us, and taking a list of the presents, proceeded to make his report to the emperor of China. The treasurer having come with the emperor's orders for us to advance, we entered Zhe-hol on the 29th September, 1787, and were lodged on a high plain to the westward of the city.

"On the 30th September we proceeded by invitation to meet the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng,* who wears two peacock's tail feathers with red on the top of his head-dress, (red button on his cap,) and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín who wear two peacock's feathers with a ruby on the top of their head-dress. The wún-gyíh told us;—'our master, the emperor, is much pleased at the arrival of the ambassadors, and will receive the royal letter and presents so soon as to-morrow, when the ambassadors also will see him and be interrogated by himself. You must be in waiting at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning when the emperor comes out, and you must bring the band of music, which he has heard you have with you.' On the following morning we were in attendance in front of the palace before the emperor appeared. He came out about 7 o'clock, when the royal letter and presents were delivered by us, and the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín in the midst of all the officers of the court. The emperor spoke as follows in the Tartar language to the wún-gyíh, who repeated it in the Chinese language to the interpreter, and he communicated it to us:—'the two great countries were always friends in former times, and owing to a little difference which happened once, no letters or presents have passed. But now, a mutual intercourse and good understanding prevails, and friendship has been reestablished. I am exceeding glad to hear that my royal friend, the lord of the golden palace, fulfills his religious duties and cherishes all the inhabitants of the country as if they were the children of his own bosom. Let the ambassadors submit all they have to say.'—We replied, 'your majesty's slaves will submit to our royal master all your majesty's orders; and communicate to wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng, and to Koun-yé-thú all we have to represent.'

"The emperor then said, 'let them convey to my royal friend, in order that he may worship as I do, this Shikyá Muní image, the representative of the deity, which has always been worshiped in our palace,—this figure of the deity, embroidered in silk, and this Yu-e jewel (sceptre?) which I always carry in my hand.' The wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú brought and delivered the same to us. We then made our band of music play before the emperor, who approved of it and said it was very pleasant. After his majesty had conferred presents on different great and subordinate officers, we were placed in the same line with the 48 princes of Tartary, and allowed to see an entertainment, or Chinese play.

* This is evidently the same person, who was the first minister of the empire during lord Macartney's embassy, and who is styled by sir G. Staunton, "Hoo-choong-taung Colao."

"On the 3d October we went again, and were placed in the same line as before, and shown a complete entertainment. The emperor of China seated us at a table, at which we ate and drank in company with the 48 princes of Tartary. We conversed with the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú and 'Thí táyín, and observed:— 'friendship has now been established between our two royal masters. The great officers on each side, bearing in mind the favors they have received from, and the duty they owe to, their respective masters, have only to submit what they may be satisfied will conduce to the permanent advantage of their royal masters and their posterity. We, who have been deputed, will return as quickly as possible, and in conformity with the qualifications required from ambassadors, will submit to our royal master every circumstance relating to the emperor of China. There are certain Shan tsô-buahs and their followers, subjects of our master, and some men who were formerly deputed, still remaining in this country. And the road on the frontier of the two countries is much molested by bad men and criminals;— if means are adopted on both sides for putting an end to this evil, the two countries will become like one, and the gold and silver road will be opened.' The Chinese officers replied:— 'the observations of the ambassadors are very correct. Our master, the emperor, is much pleased at having reestablished friendship with the lord of the golden palace, who rules over the western country. His majesty has given to the king of Ava an image of him, who is without an equal, and is superior to the three races of beings, (men, Nats, and Byamháas,) and who has been worshiped uninterruptedly by all the emperor's ancestors; and he has permitted the ambassadors to communicate, without reserve, all they may have to say. He has seated the ambassadors also on the same line with his own relations, the 48 princes of Tartary, and repeatedly questioned, and spoken to them. All the points you have represented will be properly settled. When we go back from Zhehol (to Peking), we will exert ourselves to have the whole settled, and will submit that you may be speedily allowed to return.'

"On the following day we were invited to attend the emperor, who was going to visit a monastery. We went early, and were desired by the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng to wait on the road, and when we saw the emperor coming out on horseback, to remark what a strong hale man his majesty must be, to be able to ride at 80 years of age without being fatigued. We waited on the road accordingly, and on seeing the emperor, spoke as we had been instructed. Hô-tsoún-teng

asked what the ambassadors had said, and when the interpreter translated our remarks into Chinese, the wún-gyíh repeated it to the emperor.

"The emperor, on going to the monastery, entered by the southern arched gateway, and came out by the western, and returned to the city by its southern gateway. Lu táyín was appointed to attend us and show us all the different images and temples. But all the different figures shown to us were representations only of our deity, and observing that those varying in form were copied from various forms which Gaudama had assumed when in this world, we bowed down and worshiped them. There were seven monasteries. In that first shown to us, there were 200 priests dressed in yellow, and in another to the westward about 500.

"On the 6th Oct. we were invited to an entertainment given in some temporary building in a garden. We went before 6 o'clock, and the emperor came about half past seven in an open sedan chair. He was dressed as follows: on the top of his head-dress there was a pearl; on the four sides of his silk dress there was the figure of a dragon, and round his neck hung a string of pearls. He took his seat on a royal chair of the form of a dragon, and about a cubit high, and the officers of his court presented to him cups of spirits and cups of milk. The wún-gyíh Hô-tsoúu-teng and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín stood on the right and left of the emperor with swords in their hands. To the right and left were placed tables with all kinds of cakes, and we sat down on the right hand with the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoú-teng, behind the chiefs of the 48 Tartar countries, and ate and drank. After the soft music and dancing, which were according to the Chinese, Tartar, and Kulá fashions, the emperor returned home. The silks and golden cloths, which had been arranged on the left hand, were distributed in presents to the princes of Tartary, and those on the right hand were distributed by the wún-gyíh Koún-yé-thú * to us according to our respective ranks, and to the officers appointed to take care of us. All kinds of curious cloths, &c., intended for presents to the king of Ava, were also shown and delivered to us.

"A little after 3 o'clock, on the afternoon of the same day, the emperor of China again came out, and we saw an exhibition of tumblers on poles, and fireworks, and then returned home.

"The emperor having directed us on this last day to go to Peking,

* This officer was not a wún-gyíh or first minister of state, as will be seen in the list of wún-gyíh hereafter given, but the Burmese ambassadors repeatedly given him this title

we left Zhehol on the 7th of October, and arrived at Peking on the 12th October, taking up our residence in some temporary buildings erected on a plain within the southern gateway of the city, where we were attended and supplied with provisions by the same men as before.

"On the 13th, the emperor having directed that the ambassadors should be lodged near him, and that their provisions should be supplied from within the palace, we moved, on the following day, and took up our residence on a royal plain,* near the road leading to the southward from the western gateway of the wall surrounding the palace. On the 15th the emperor came to Peking, and we accompanied the Chinese officer to a temporary building in the lake, where there is a palace, in order to receive his majesty. On the morning of the 20th we attended the emperor, by invitation, to the garden situated within the same lake, and his majesty ordered the wún-gyíh Koún-yé-thú to take us round and show us all the monasteries, temples and gardens. We embarked in a boat with that officers and rowed about the lake, and saw the different monasteries, &c. In two monasteries situated on the top of a hill on the western side of the lake, there were several images of the unequaled and most excellent deity, surrounded by images of inspired disciples. We saw more than fifty priests here also dressed in yellow cloth. There were ten more monasteries on the top and sides of a hill running from the westward of the hill before mentioned to the north. They contained, besides many images of the deity, a figure of the Mán-Nat † with one thousand arms, and figures of hermits and priests in stone, and various paintings. A small hill and the garden where a monastery is situated are joined by an arched brick bridge of fifty tá ‡ or 350 cubits. At the end of the lake, nearest the city, there is an octagonal pyramidal building, with three roofs covered with green tiles. On the western sides, on the slope of a hill, there are two Buddhist temples and a monastery with three roofs; on the southeast, a large building with four roofs dedicated to a Nat; and on the northeast, on a level ground, stands the pyramidal building at which the emperor stops. The lake is upwards of 400 tā from north to south, and upwards of 300 tā from east to west, and in it there are five large vessels with several boats. The emperor ordered that we should also be taken

* Apparently a plain on which princes encamp or live when they visit Peking.

† The Hindu god of love and desire, Káma, one of whose name, Mára, is written by the Burmese Már, and pronounced Mán.

‡ A tá is a measure of 7 cubits, and a royal cubit is equal to 19,1 English inches.

round and shown all the monasteries within and without the city, and be allowed to compare the books and writings, and see if they were similar to ours.

"On examining the different monasteries, we saw some with images of the deity (Gaudama), and priests dressed in yellow in attendance; some with people dressed in dark colored caps and trowsers, when the Chinese call hoshang; and some with the ship country Kulās in attendance on the image of Devadīt, which they worship. The books, writings and language spoken in these monasteries were not like ours, and those who accompanied us took notes of all we said, and submitted the same to the emperor.

"On the 23d October, when the emperor returned from the palace lake to the city, we received him in company with the Chinese officers outside of the western gateway of the palace inclosure. Every day after the emperor returned to the city, some of the palace officers wearing red on the top of their head-dress and a peacock's feather, brought to us from his majesty's table different kinds of meat and sweetmeats. On the 28th, we joined the Chinese officers in attendance on the emperor, and saw him offer his devotions at a monastery within the palace inclosure. On the 29th, we attended the emperor, when he came out from the western gateway of the palace inclosure, and proceeded to the garden in the lake, and on his return, he stopped his sedan chair as he was coming out of the temporary building erected for his accommodation on the royal plain, and giving us presents, said: 'let the ambassador return on the 1st of November, in order that my royal friend may learn everything.' On the same day the Chinese officers of rank summoned us to a spot on the royal plain to the eastward of the palace inclosure, and gave us an entertainment, and delivered to us the emperor of China's letter. On the 31st, the wún-gyih Hô-tsoún-teng and Kóun-yé-thú, Thí táyín, and Lu táyín, gave us different presents; and on the same day we went into the palace where the wún-gyih Hô-tsoún-teng was, and said to him, 'we were ordered to return on the 1st of November, and to-morrow we are to set out; but we desire to receive an answer to the representations which we made at Zhehol.' He replied, 'I have submitted to the emperor every word of your representations, and his orders are: the men who came to our country are some of them afar off and some of them have disappeared or are dead, and much delay and a long time will elapse in making the necessary inquiries and examinations. When the snowy season arrives, the cold will be very great, and these ambassadors, who have been

sent to us on business relating to the country, had better return with all expedition.' The wún-gyih also said, 'the six men with Nga Tsít who were formerly deputed, were taken to the province of Kuantóin in Tartary, but they were ordered to be brought back the moment you arrived here, and as soon as they come, they shall be sent down to Yunnan and forwarded to you;—and with respect to the chief of Bamoo, inquiry shall be made, and he shall hereafter be surrendered. There is nothing difficult now that our two masters have become friends, and the governor of Yunnan has already received full instructions on every subject.'

"On the 1st November, 1788, after seeing the emperor receive the homage of all his officers, which he does once a year on the last day of a month seated on his throne, we took charge of the emperor's letter, the Shikyá Muni image, and various costly presents, and left Peking. We came in a carriage with horses in 23 days' journey from Peking to the city of Shyeng-yeng heén in the province of Húpê, beyond the provinces of Tsítli and Hônán, when we embarked in boats, and came down the stream in 18 days, on the 12th December, to the city of Changshá fuo in the province of Hñnán. The route from thence by water being against the stream and very difficult, we proceeded by land in covered sedan chairs, and arrived at the city of Kweichow on the 5th January, 1789. We left that city on the 6th and arrived at Yunnan in 16 days, on the 21st January. The governor had marched with a force of 10,000 men to attack the city of Akyô, lying to the southeast of Yunnan, where there was then a war, and Thuyin, the governor of Yunnan, who received us, informed us that in conformity with the application which we had submitted to the emperor, the six men, Nga Uh, Nga Lhe-go, Nga Tsít-tô Nga Tsít-lí, Nga Pô-bú, and Nga Pô-yí, subjects of the king of Ava who were formerly detained and sent to Tartary, had been recalled and had arrived at Peking on the 2d Dec.; that orders had been received to forward them, and that the moment they reached Yunnan, they should be sent to the golden feet. He also said, 'our two masters having become friends, the two countries must be like one, and constant intercourse maintained between them;—and added:—'the new year being close at hand, some difficulty is felt in supplying you with the means of continuing your journey; wait here, therefore, for a short time.' We stopped at Yunnan, accordingly for four days; and on the 26th of January left it, and in 21 days' journey, on the 15th of February, arrived at Kaing:muh. The chief of Kaing:muh also said, that he had received letters from the governor of Yunnan in-

forming him, that the six men who had been sent to Tartary were coming with all expedition for the purpose of being forwarded to the golden seat. He also told us, that he had sent letters to Maing-Tein and Theinni to have the temporary buildings and provisions prepared for us, and requested us to give them a few days to have all in readiness. We waited accordingly at Kaing-muh nine days, and on the 24th of February left it, and on the 4th March arrived at Theinni."

Memorandum appended to the foregoing, giving an account of the emperor of China and his sons and officers, and a description of the city of Peking and of the imperial palace.

"The age of the emperor is 78 years, of which he has reigned 53 years. The principal of his nine queens is dead. He has five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Lu-yéh, is 45 years of age. He has six wún-gyíhs, three Tartars, Hô-tsoún-teng, A'-tsoún-deng and Thín-tsoún-deng, and three Chinese, Weng-tsoún-deng, Kyí-tsoún-deng, Lhyó-tsoún-deng. There are six great officers, one superintendent of war, one treasurer, one superintendent of law and custom, one superintendent of criminal affairs, and one superintendent of learning. There is a general of the nine gates, named Kyo-meín tetüh. A governor of the city, named Shueng-deng-thú, and another governor, who is also the chief revenue officer of the city, named Phing-sheng.

"Thefts, murders or other public offenses committed within the city are taken cognizance of by the governors of the city; but those committed in the suburbs and outside of the city, are taken cognizance of by the governor of Tsitli from the city of Pauk-tin-chow. The officers and soldiers do not hold districts and villages (in jaghír), but are paid monthly salaries in money according to established rates, and agreeably to their several ranks.

"The emperor of China has always worshiped the image of the most excellent deity (Gaudama), whom the Chinese call Shikya Muni; and once a year he executes the sentences of criminals in the following manner. The emperor goes to a monastery at which there is an image of the Tha-gyã Nat, and the names and acts of the criminals are proclaimed, and written on slips of paper, which are burnt upon a horse and cow, and these animals are then executed. This custom is always followed from a belief, that these papers and the souls of these animals are sent up to the Tha-gyã Nat. Within the building covering the Wumein gateway of the wall surrounding the palace inclosure, the figures of those men who have gained victories in war, with the number of the victories, are written; and on the

outside of that gate there is a monastery in which different emperors have had carved and placed, the figures of men, who acquired renown, and of officers who were faithful or good soldiers; and to this place the emperor goes once a year and does honor. On the northern bank of the lake, to the westward of the palace wall, the figures of the three men *Mi-koún-yé*, *Kuá táyin*, and *Tseng táyin*, who were killed in the victories obtained in the year 1029 (A. D. 1767), are placed, each under a separate pyramidal building. At the four angles of the palace inclosure wall, there is a pyramidal building, in which the armor worn by soldiers, and swords, and spears are lodged. In the buildings at the gateways of the outer city, guns, muskets, shot, and powder are lodged, and constantly guarded by troops.

"Peking is divided into two cities, the southern and northern city. In the former there are seven gates, and in the latter nine. The walls are 13 cubits high and 14 cubits thick. At each of the gateways is a building on each side, and a double pair of folding doors. There is a pyramidal building also at each of the four angles of the wall. The ditch surrounding the wall is not lined at the sides, and is about 70 cubits broad, with water let into it. The northern city is about 3500 cubits square, and the southern city about 4200 cubits square. The line of walls inside of the northern city has no battlements, but is covered on the top with yellow-colored tiles.* It is 1750 cubits square, 10 cubits high, and has six gateways at six different points. Inside of this last-mentioned wall is the wall surrounding the palace inclosure; and this is upwards of 700 cubits on the eastern and western side, and about 1058 cubits on the northern and southern side. It is surrounded by a ditch filled with water, seventy cubits broad and ten cubits deep, the sides of which are faced with stone. This wall is fourteen cubits high and seven cubits thick; at the four angles there is a tower, and it has a gateway on each of the four sides, and a double-roofed shed supported on ten posts covers each gateway. There are three entrances at each gateway, and the folding gates are covered with plates of iron fastened with nails. The road within the walls of the palace inclosure is fourteen cubits broad and paved with stone. From a lake situated three taing (six miles) to the northwest of the city of Peking, water is brought into the ditch surrounding the walls of the palace inclosure by a canal, which also conducts it from the ditch into the palace, and thence to the east of the city; and there are stone bridges over this canal. The southern side is the front of the palace. The principal palace is sur-

* The external inclosure of the palace

rounded by another wall, outside of which stands the palace with the throne (hall of audience), which has a square roof fourteen cubits above the ground, and is paved with stone. About one hundred and forty cubits distant from the hall of audience is another large building with a square roof, and on one side of it is the gold treasury, and on the other the silver treasury, with a line of other buildings. To the left of these buildings, and thirty-five cubits distant, are temporary buildings occupied by the officers of the court, and a line of three buildings occupied by scholars or students, literally 'people learning books.'"

"When the emperor of China takes his seat on the throne, flags, chowries, and satin umbrellas are arranged on his right and left hand, and the band of music plays in a large building to the southward. On his right are the military officers, and on his left the civil officers; and they all, at a given signal, bow their heads nine times. The emperor comes out of the palace in the following manner:—he is seated in a sedan chair covered with yellow satin, and preceded by upwards of fifty horsemen, twelve umbrellas of yellow satin, each with three rows of fringe, twelve chowries and twelve flags, upwards of twenty spears having the points sheathed, ten led horses with saddles and bridles complete, and upwards of twenty horses with the brothers and sons of the emperor dressed in yellow satin jackets, and armed with bows and swords. Immediately in front of the emperor is carried an umbrella of yellow satin with three rows of fringe, and having the figure of a dragon worked upon it in gold thread, and upwards of an hundred men in charge of the women (eunuchs) surround the emperor's chair. The band of music which plays when the emperor comes out or enters the palace, consists of a pipe with six stops, two trumpets, a fiddle, a lyre, and an alligator harp. The instruments used at Chinese historical plays consist of a small gong, a large gong, a pair of large cymbals, two trumpets, a drum, and a pipe.

"There are fifteen elephants at Peking. The following are the prices of articles in the bazar there. One and a half ticals for a basket of rice; 10 ticals for one hundred viss of salt; 125 ticals for one hundred viss of cleaned cotton; 60 ticals for one hundred viss of oil; 1 tical for a basket of pyaung grain (Madras Colum); $1\frac{1}{2}$ ticals for a basket of millet. One thousand copper pice pass for $2\frac{1}{2}$ ticals; and these pice are used in sales and purchases. Rice is cultivated and used in the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Hoonan, and Hoo-kwang (Huquang). But there are no paddy lands; and pyaung,

pulse, barley, and millet only are cultivated and used in the provinces of Hônân and Tsītli, and about the cities of Zhehol and Taing. As far as Kweichow the people of the country wear their hair like the Burmese, all over the head. The people to the north are very numerous, and there are a great many hills, precipices and streams. In Hookwang, people travel in boats, as there are many lakes and streams in that province; and in Honan and Tsītli, the ground being natural and even, carriages are used. There are no trees, bamboos, or rattans, and instead of firewood coal is used.

“We heard in China, that in the month of May or June in the year 1149 (A. D. 1787), the people of Taik-wun having revolted and put to death the governor and officers, the force first sent to subdue them under the general Tshait táyín was defeated with great loss. The general was executed by the emperor, and another general Thú-thi táyín detached against the rebels, whom he subdued in the month of April, 1789, when Mi-doun-yé's younger brother, Khue-koun-yé, was appointed governor over the people with the office of tsé-taik. The two leaders of the Taik-wun rebels were decapitated, and their heads, together with the head of the general Tshait táyín, were suspended in the market place of the great southern city.

“On the 23d of August, 1788, about 9 o'clock at night, the Thí-tshuen river rose and the water overflowed and drowned the whole city of Kyín-chow in the province of Hookwang. Upwards of ten thousand people were destroyed, together with the wife and children of the governor, and the lieutenant-governor himself with all his family. On the receipt of this intelligence at Peking, the wún-gyih A'tsoñ-teng was dispatched with upwards of two thousand viss of silver, to provide clothing, food and habitations for such of the inhabitants of Kyín-chow as remained, which service he performed. Intelligence was also received from the people appointed to guard, that an embryo Budha had appeared at the city of Thī-tsān in the Kulā country to the westward of Thī-tshuen, and that the people were disputing and going to war about him. The general Aung-tsong-kyín was appointed to go and attack them with the force in the city of Thī-tshuen. We saw all the houses and land destroyed by the floods along the whole road we traveled in the provinces of Hoonan and Hoopih, from the city of Kyengchow included. The people also said, that when the walls of the city of Thī-tshuen fell down and were being rebuilt, a prophetic writing was found, which the nobleman, Khoút-myén, who first built the walls, had placed there. The contents of this writing were:—‘To the south one thousand taings will

be destroyed by water. To the northward, beyond the city of Shyàn Shī, a stream of blood will flow. A great calamity will befall the chief and inhabitants of the city of Kueng-chow, whilst they are asleep.' People say, that what happened lately corresponds with this prediction.

"The governor of Kueng-toŭn reported, that the uncle of the chief of Annan, a territory lying to the west of Kueng-toŭn, and near the Kueng-thī (Kwangsé) and Yunnan provinces, had revolted, and that the chief and his family had fled and arrived at the city of Kwangsé. The chief of Annan having regularly sent presents, and being a friend, it became necessary to assist him, and attack those who had molested him. The tetŭh of Kwangsé, Yuí táyín, was appointed general, and a force of ten thousand men, three thousand from Kwangsé and seven thousand men from Yunnan under the tetŭh of Yunnan, was sent against the rebels."

The itinerary of this mission, which visited the emperor in 1787, given at full length in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, we here omit: and proceed to notice the *second* of the three, which visited Peking in 1823. It appears quite certain that in some instances the Burmese kings have been deceived, and received missions from the governor of Yunnan, supposing them to have come from Peking. One of these is worthy of notice; and we give the account of it in colonel Burney's own words:—

"On the 7th September, 1790, the chief of Bamoo reported to Meng-dará-gyíh, king of Ava, that several officers of high rank and a Chinese embassy had arrived at Mó-wún, with some valuable presents and three Chinese princesses for his majesty. The king ordered the chief to proceed immediately and escort the embassy to Bamoo, and on its arrival there, a special deputation, consisting of a wún-gyíh and wún-dauk, with several ladies of rank, was sent with suitable boats from the capital, to go and bring down the ladies and ambassadors, who, on the 15th October, reached some buildings constructed for their accomodation, outside of the city of Amarapúra. Three days after, the Chinese ladies were taken into the palace and received by the king, and placed in some apartments specially constructed for them; and on the 20th October, the Chinese envoys received a grand public audience, at which they delivered the presents sent by the emperor, and were asked by the king the customary two or three questions. At this audience the king placed the Chinese ladies near himself within the elevated stage which forms the throne. The three Chinese ladies, who appear to have been sisters,

and are called in the Burmese history T'á-kú-nyen, E-kú-nyen, and Thán-kú-nyen, received honorary titles, and the province of Taung-báin was conferred on them in jaghire. The envoys left Amarapúra again for China on the 1st of November, 1790. These Chinese ladies are called princesses, and a letter, of which I possess a copy, was written for them in the Burmese language addressed to the emperor of China, styling him their grandfather, and expressing great anxiety that he should become a true Buddhist. But they were natives of Malong, a town in Yunnan province, and their feet were in a natural state. There is no doubt that they were women of low rank, and that the whole was an imposition practiced upon the king of Ava's amorous propensities by the Chinese viceroy of Yunnan. This was not the only occasion on which that king was imposed upon—for women were also presented to him as daughters of a king of Ceylon and a king of Benares."

Of the missions sent to the court of Peking in 1823 and 1833, colonel Burney procured copies of the routes and of most of the reports, which were submitted to the king. Both, he says, "proceeded in company with a Chinese embassy when it returned to Yunnan from Ava, and it will be seen that the route of both, with a very slight deviation was the same—in as straight a line as possible from Yunnan province to Peking." However, what colonel Burney has published is merely an abstract, made for him by the king's minister at Ava. The mission of 1823 brought the following letter.

Letter from the emperor of China to the king of Ava in the year 1822.

"Translation made in the Lluot-tô of the royal letter which was brought by the emperor of China's ambassadors Yan tálôyé and Yeng tshengyé, and a copy of which was taken in a (Burmese black) book in the presence of a party of officers assembled in the conference held on the 10th April, 1823, by the interpreters Lô-shue, Lô-tsheng, Nga-shue-zen, and Nga-shue-maung, superintended by the Chinese clerk.

"Elder brother Thauk Kuon, (Taoukwang) king of U'dí, who, assisted by the Tha-gyá chief, rules over the great kingdoms and multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward, affectionately addresses younger brother, the sun-descended king, lord of the golden palace, lord of the Tshaddan king of elephants, master of many white elephants, and possessor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, noble serpentine and amber, who rules over the great kingdoms and a multitude of chiefs wearing umbrellas, and dwelling in palaces to the westward. The royal ancestors of elder and younger brother, assisted by the Tha-gyá Nat, have uninterruptedly interchanged letters, and it is now two years since elder brother succeeded to the throne on the departure to the Nat country of (his) father. Once in the time of (our) royal ancestors in the year 1111 (A. D. 1757); and once, in the time of (my) father

Kyá-tshín in the 16th year of (his) reign, and in the time of younger brother's grandfather Alaung Meng-dará-gyíh, ambassadors were mutually deputed; and the gold and silver road having been established, and the two countries joined in a manner into one, the poor people and (our) slaves have continued to trade together. It is now twelve years since any presents have been exchanged between younger and elder brother's countries. Tshín táyeng, the governor of Maing-tshi, was directed to transmit presents again in charge of Yeng-tsheng-yé, but the governor having reported that the presents were not received, because they were unaccompanied by a royal letter, Yan tá-lôyé has also been commissioned to convey the presents; and by the newly appointed governor Myín-tá-yeng, and Shaya-we of the imperial guard, are sent a royal letter, two fur jackets lined with yellow silk, 1 small Yenthain box, and 2 boxes containing glass tea-cups with covers and saucers, for the purpose of being forwarded to younger brother, together with the presents formerly sent, and a male and female ass with saddles complete. Let these ambassadors return without delay, and on their return, it will be as if the countenance of younger brother, the sun-descended king and lord of the golden palace, has been seen."

Direction of the letter. "On the 1st December, 1822, in the second year of Taoukwang's reign, elder brother, Taoukwang, king of U'dí, has to represent to younger brother the sun-descended king."

King of Ava's reply to the above letter. June 17th, 1823. "The royal letter on gold leaf to be delivered to the king of Gan-dá-la-yít* by the tsare-dô-gyíh (principal clerk or secretary) Ne-myo-men-tha, and others, who are appointed envoys to accompany the Chinese ambassadors."

"The founder of the great golden city of Yatanápura, Ava, lord of the Tsaddan† king of elephants, master of many white elephants, possessor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and noble serpentine, the bearer of the title *Théri-pa-wara thú d'amma mahá rájá-di-rájá‡* the sun-descended king, and great king of righteousness, who rules over the kingdoms and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, addresses Taoukwang king of U'dí, who rules over the great kingdoms, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. It is now thirty-five years since Meng-dará-gyíh, the grandfather of (your) royal friend, and founder of the great golden city of Amarapura, and Keénlung the grandfather of Taoukwang king of U'dí, having formed a sincere and affectionate friendship, the inhabitants of the two countries have been in the enjoyment of a happy and cordial intercourse and trade. In the 4th year of (your) royal friend's reign, and in the 2d year of Taoukwang, king of U'dí's reign, on the 6th of April 1823, Yan tá-lôyé, Yeng-tsheng-yé, Tsô-lô-tsoún, Toún-lô-tsoún and La-

* This is the classical term for China. Taroup country is the common name.

† According to the Burmese, there were at one time in this world ten different kinds of elephants, each rising above the other in strength, in a decimal ratio. The lowest in the scale was the present common elephant, and the highest, which was named Tsaddan and the king of elephants, was the present white elephant.

‡ The meaning of this Páli title is thus rendered by the Burmese: "the illustrious and excellent, and, through good works, the great king of kings."

tsheng-yé, arrived with a royal letter and various presents, consisting of two fur jackets lined with yellow silk, 1 small Yenthain box, 1 box containing glass tea-cups with covers and saucers, 8 rolls of velvet, 39 rolls of satin, 30 pieces of figured silk, 8 rolls of gold net-work, 190 glass tea-cups, 20 carpets, 15 paper boxes, 20 purses, 10 fans in cases, 100 fans, 1 fur jacket lined with plum-colored silk, a male and female ass, 2 Chinese horses, 1 large stone hill (imitation of a hill) with flowering shrubs planted on it, 4 small stone hills with flowering shrubs planted on them, 1 *thauk-zó* tree bearing fruit, and 1 *me-tsó* tree bearing fruit (dwarf fruit-tree). A public audience was granted to these ambassadors on the new year's *kadó* (beg-pardon levee-day). (Your) royal friend has appointed in return, Ne-myó-men:tha, who is employed within the palace, Nara-ze-ya nôra-thá, Thí-ha-tsí-thú nôra-thá, Shue-daung-thú-yan nôra-thá, Shue-daung-thú-ra nôra-tha-gyô-den, and Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung, to proceed as (his) ambassadors with the following presents:—Three white marble images of the lord Gaudama, supreme over the three races of beings, Byamhás, Nats, and men, whom (your) royal friend unceasingly adores to obtain *meg* and *phó* (qualities possessed by inspired disciples of Gaudama), and Neibban (the Buddhist heaven), and whose images are sent from a desire that he should be worshiped; 2 ivory mats for Taoukwang, king of U'dí's own use; 2 ivory cushions; 2 pieces of yellow broadcloth; 1 of green and 1 of scarlet; 10 pieces of Bilat chintz, 10 pieces of the same with white borders; 10 carpets from the ship country (country beyond sea; 4 lacquered-ware boxes, each capable of holding half a basket, 50 lacquered-ware boxes, each capable of holding an eighth of a basket; 3 viss of white sandal-wood, and 3 of red; 100 bundles of gold leaf, and 100 of silver leaf; 2 ruby rings; 2 sapphire rings; 60 viss weight of noble serpentine; 2 elephants' teeth weighing 42 viss and 82 ticals; 46 uncut rubies; 1 viss weight of Mobyé stone; 15 peacocks' tail, with 3 male elephants and 2 female. Let these envoys return without delay."

The king of Ava's letter, observes colonel Burney, besides not acknowledging the fraternity claimed by the emperor of China, and styling him simply "royal friend," has not the respectful particle "*bá*," which is given in the translation of the first part of the emperor's letter. He then gives the following "information obtained from Thí-ha-tsí-thú nôra-thá and Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung, who accompanied the tsa-re-gyíh Ge-myó-men-tha, when he was deputed as envoy to the Chinese city in the kingdom of Gau-dá-la-yít, on examining them regarding the affairs and customs of China, and the distances of the different halting places on the road."

"In the year 1185 (A. D. 1823), on the arrival of Yan tálôyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, with more than thirty other Chinese, and with a royal letter and various cloths and presents from the emperor of China, who desired to cultivate the same kind of friendship as had existed in the time of his grandfather and father, the king appointed the

tsa-rə-gyih Ne-myó-men:tha and us as his envoys, to proceed and convey to the residence of the emperor of China a royal letter on gold, and various presents in return. We left the great and golden city of Yatanápúra (Ava) on the 18th June, 1823, and in twenty-nine days arrived at the city of Bamoo, on the 17th July. On the road between Ava and Bamoo, there are many large cities and villages. On our arrival at Bamoo, the principal Chinese envoys, Yan tálôyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, dispatched a letter in the Chinese language to Hú tálôyé, the governor of the city Mó-myín, informing him of our arrival at Bamoo, with a letter on gold, and other things from the Burmese sun-descended king. The governor of Bamoo, also, sent orders by letters to the chief of the wild Ka-khyens* residing on the hills and in the woods between the two countries of Ava and China. We stopped at Bamoo twenty-nine days, until the 14th of August. We left Bamoo on the 15th August, escorted by the Ná-k,hán (Nga-shán) (the city writer) Nga-bóh, with two hundred followers, and by four hundred Ka-khyens and their chiefs, making altogether six hundred men. In six stages we reached the village and fortified chokey of Luay-laing. On the road between Bamoo and Luay-laing-ken there are many cities and villages.† At Luay-laing-ken, we found the men sent by the governor of Mó-myín to receive us, and therefore sent back to their homes the people from Bamoo, and the Ka-khyens and their chiefs, who came as our escort. We left Luay-laing-ken with the men and the horses that had been sent from Mó-myín to receive us, and after traveling a distance of ten taings reached the city of Mó-wún. In the villages lying between Luay-laing-ken and Mó-wún, there are many pagodas and inns. In the monasteries to the eastward of the brick-house, in which the tsô-buáh of Mó-wún resides, there are many priests, who have yellow cloaks and other articles of use like the Burmese priests; who adore the three objects of worship; observe the five commandments, and distinguish the ten greater and the ten lesser sins. We stopped at Mó-wún two days, and on leaving it reached the city of Mó-myín in five stages. A taing before reaching that city we met its governor, who was coming to receive us, seated in a sedan chair, and having red umbrellas, and men bearing muskets, swords, lances, and bows and arrows arranged on his right and left. We entered the city of Mó-myín with the governor, and were accommodated in a brick-built

* Wild mountainous race on the frontier of China.

† This sentence must have been interpolated by the Burmese ministers, for the country between Bamoo and this chokey consists of hills and forests inhabited only by the wild Ka-khyens.

house with a conference shed, on a space of ground of 30 *ta* or 210 cubits in extent. We remained in this city eleven days, occupied in preparing boxes, in which to pack up the royal presents. The governor furnished the ambassadors with sedan chairs, and our followers with horses, and just as we were about to take our departure, an order from the emperor of China was received, which was transmitted by the governor of Yunnan, and stated, that in consequence of the successful services of the principal Chinese envoys who had come to Ava, Tsô-tô-tsoûn and Toun-lô-tsoûn were appointed to a command of 3,000 soldiers each at Mô-myín, where they were to remain, and Yan tálôyé was appointed to a similar command at Maing-tshí, where he was to remain. With Wún tálôyé, whom the governor Hú tálôyé appointed to the charge of us, and the Chinese interpreters Yeng-tsheng-yé, La-tsheng-yé, and Ya-tsheng-yé, we left Mô-myín, and in four stages reached the river called by the Chinese Loûn-kyan and by the Burmese Mê-khaung. To cross this river there are two iron chains, each consisting of three chains twisted together and measuring about ten fingers in diameter, and 245 cubits long with hooks at the ends. These being drawn over the stream, which is 140 cubits broad, and fixed to two posts on each bank, a plank flooring is laid upon them, at the sides of which flooring posts are let in, and the whole is covered by a roof. This bridge is called an iron bridge, and is 7 cubits broad. Thence in seventeen stages we reached the city of Maing-tshí. Here on a piece of ground 175 cubits in extent, paved with bricks, a religious edifice is erected, in which is placed a gilded wooden image of Gaudama sitting cross-legged on his throne. We were lodged in some brick-built houses to the south and north of this religious edifice. The governor lives in a brick house of 70 cubits in extent. We remained here twenty days, and left it on the 21st October, 1823, the governor of Maing-tshi having given to us, the five ambassadors, sedan chairs with glasses at the sides, and horses to our followers, with bearers and attendants for the whole of our party. In twenty-four stages, we reached the city of Tsein-shuon fû where we stopped a day to prepare the boats in which we were to embark. There were ten boats for the Chinese and ten for us; and having obtained the requisite number of boatmen and porters, we moved down the stream, and in fifteen days reached the city of Tshan-taik fû, where there are many ships (junks) and boats. Between Tshan-taik fû, and Tsein-shuon fû, there are many large towns and villages. We stopped a day at Tshan-taik fû, and then proceeded by land in thirty-seven stages to Tseng-tein fû. This city

is one tang square, and in the middle of it there are four pagodas, forty or fifty cubits high, built in shape like the base of a Phoungyíh's or Buddhist priest's flag staff, and a large *kyaung* or monastery with five roofs of green and red color, and with a winding staircase. In the centre of this monastery there is a gilded image of a nat 25 cubits high, standing upright and having lotus leaves on its head, and within a hole made between the eye-brows of this nat, we saw an image of Gaudama sitting cross-legged, and about eight fingers breadth in height. Between Tshan-taik fū and Tsheng-tein fū there are many large towns and villages. After leaving Tseng-tein fū we arrived in ten stages, on the 22d January, 1824, at the city of Peking, the residence of the king of China. We left Bamoo on the 15th August, 1823, and arrived at the Chinese capital on the 22d January, 1824, being one hundred and sixty-one days, or five (Burmese) months and twelve days.

"On arriving at Peking we were lodged at the brick-house, where is customary for all ambassadors to be accommodated, about 2100 cubits distant from the hall of the inner town, to the north-west of the palace within the large town. We think the walls of the outer town are about 20 cubits high and 14 thick. and those of the inner town 18 cubits high and $10\frac{1}{2}$ thick—and the former are complete in parapets and platforms. The walls of the large outer town are entirely of brick, and the top of the walls of the inner town is covered with sheets of copper, on which there is a coat of yellow paint. On the southern side of the large town there is a large hog's head or bastion of brick work, extending from the southeast angle to the northeast, and we entered by the Khān-shyi gateway of this hog's head, and by the centre gateway of the great town called Tsheng-mheín. We first went to the house of the wúngyíh Lí-pú-tá-yeng, situated within the large town, and were requested by him to deliver the royal letter; and on our doing so, he bowed his head down respectfully and came forward to receive it. We were lodged in a brick-house with a conference shed within the large town, and to the northwest of the palace inclosure walls.

"The outer large town may be about 14,000 cubits from north to south, and about 6300 cubits from east to west. The inner town may be about 4200 cubits from north to south, and about 3500 cubits from east to west. There are twenty gates; to the south in the hog's head, seven gates; on the eastern face of the great city, two gates; on the southern face, three gates; on the western face, two gates; and on the northern face, two gates; making sixteen gateways altogether in the large town. In the inner town there are four gates.

“The second and inner wall around the residence of the emperor of China is surrounded by a moat with water, and has towers and fortifications. Its extent from north to south is 1400 cubits, and from east to west about 2300 cubits, and it is 20 cubits high and 14 thick. The front of the palace faces to the southward. In regard to the construction of the palace, on a terrace of bricks 5 cubits high, 210 cubits long, and 140 broad, covered with plaster, posts are let in, surrounded by stone at the bottom, and on them transverse beams and rafters are placed, and a double roof without a spire, covered with yellow Chinese tiles. The sides of the palace are of plank painted with blue and red color. The planks are not of teak-wood but of fir. The centre gateway on the southern sides of the palace inclosure wall is arched, and is that used by the emperor of China, and on each side of this gateway there are two smaller entrances used by the ministers and officers. The centre gateway on the northern face also is arched, and has smaller entrances on each side. The western and eastern faces have the same kind of gateway and entrances.

“Whilst residing in the brick-house, the five principal men of the Burmese mission were daily supplied at night and in the morning with rice, salt, fish, ngā-pi, chillies, onions, greens, pork and fowls under the direction of the Chinese officer Pan-tshaing and his servants, Teng-tsani, who watched us day and night. The thirty-two inferior people (of the mission) also were daily supplied with rice and curries ready dressed.

“At 3 o'clock on the morning of the day of our arrival, five carriages with horses were sent to us, and we were summoned by the Lí-pú-tá-yeng wún-gyíh to attend on the emperor, who was coming out to see the amusement on the ice. We proceeded accordingly, and joined Lí-pú-tá-yeng on the outside of the gateway, on the northern face of the palace inclosure wall. We got out of our carriage, and waited with the wún-gyíh outside of the gateway for the appearance of the emperor. About twenty-two minutes after we arrived, the sound of large gongs, bells and trümpets announced the approach of the emperor, and shortly after he made his appearance. Outside of the gateway there were two rows of twenty men in each, waiting with large fans in their hands, and when the emperor came out of the gate, these men stooped down and formed an arch with their fans, but when the emperor had passed through this arch, they did not follow him, but remained where they were.—With respect to the ceremonial on this occasion of the emperor's appearing abroad—in front of his party there were four umbrellas of red, blue, green and

black colors, two on each side, on the right and left of the road; behind them there were two rows of horsemen, twenty in each, armed with swords—behind them, came two rows, six men in each, of officers of rank, who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, armed with swords and dressed in the fashion of the country. Behind them came two rows more, six in each, of officers of rank, who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, armed with bows and arrows. Seven cubits in front of the emperor and in the middle of the road, a yellow umbrella was carried, and the emperor followed, seated in a yellow sedan chair borne by eight men. Behind him there were officers of rank armed with swords and bows and arrows, and arranged in the same manner as those who preceded him. After the emperor's party, his relatives, some in sedan chairs, some on horseback, and some in carriages followed;—and after them came the ministers and officers, and a party of men in charge of the ladies of the palace (eunuchs). On arriving at a lake situated more than 1050 cubits to the northwest of the palace inclosure wall, on which the ice amusement was to take place, and near which there was a garden with a small rocky hill, the emperor's sedan chair was set down at the side of the garden. In the lake measuring about 700 cubits in extent, the top of the water consisted of hard solid ice upwards of three cubits thick, and on this ice a target with a pole 15 cubits high was fixed. A hundred soldiers armed with bows and arrows, and having places of iron fixed with nails on their shoes, stood with their feet close together and shot with arrows at the target. Some hit the target and some not; but after discharging their arrows, they moved forward, not as in walking, but with both feet close together, suddenly to a distance of 140 or 210 cubits, and turned round and went away. The emperor did not get out of his sedan chair, but had it placed on the lake upon the ice, whence he looked on at the amusement. We stood about 42 cubits distant from the emperor with the *Toi-tshuon* (*Si-chuen*?) Mohammedan ambassadors, but in front of them, having our shoes on, and the official cap, dress and ear-rings which his majesty had bestowed upon us. The emperor, we saw, was dressed in yellow-colored pantaloons and a fur jacket, and he returned to the palace from the ice amusement at 7 o'clock, in the same order as before, and we also returned to the ambassadors' house.

“On the 26th January we sent the royal presents under charge of *Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung*, and on the 30th we had an audience of the emperor in the front of the palace, in the *Thaik-hô-teng* apart-

ment. We were asked if the sun-descended king, the queen, royal family and ministers were well and happy, and respectfully answered, that through the grace of the three objects of worship, they were well and happy. We were treated in the palace with sweetmeats and fruit, and then returned home. On the 31st of the same month we again went to the palace on the occasion of the emperor going out to a temple. On the 1st February, were again admitted into the palace, and had an audience; and again on the 6th and 7th February; and again on the 11th, when the emperor was going out to the Tsí-kuon-kô garden, situated about 100 cubits to the west of the palace. A roll of red, blue, and yellow silk was given to each of the five principal men of the mission, and we were treated with cakes and sweet and sour fruit. On the 12th February, we were again admitted, when the emperor was going out to see fire-works of white and yellow colors, resembling flowers and flags, let off in the Yue-mi-yeng garden to the northwest of the palace. On the 12th, a carriage with 16 horses was sent, and we were invited by Lí-pú-tá-yeng to accompany the emperor when he was going out, and we went accordingly. We were accommodated in a brick-house about 3500 cubits distant from the palace in the Yue-mi-yeng garden. On the night of the 14th February we attended the emperor in the Yue-mi-yeng garden, and saw the fire-works, and were treated with sweetmeats and eatables and drinkables. On the 15th February we went again, and were again treated with refreshments, and on the night of the same day we went again, when fire-works were let off. On the 19th February, Lí-pú-tá-yeng having sent word to us to request leave to return, when we went before the emperor we submitted our request. The emperor ordered, that suitable royal presents and gifts for the ambassadors should be prepared and delivered, and the envoys allowed to return; and on the 20th we returned to our former residence within the large city. The emperor of China proceeded from his palace in Peking to his palace in the city of Ye-hó (Zhehol) in Tartary on the 24th February. On the 25th we went by desire of Lí-pú-tá-yeng to receive and take away the royal presents, and on entering the palace, the royal presents and cloths were packed in boxes and delivered to us, under the direction of Lí-pú-tá-yeng, and we received and took them away. Ten rolls of fine silk were given to each of us five principal men of the mission, and to the subordinate persons five pieces of silk and five pieces of blue cotton cloth. On the 27th February, we went to Lí-pú-tá-yeng's house to take leave. Lí-pú-tá-yeng having furnished us with five carriages and men, we took our departure on the 29th February, 1824.

"Whenever the emperor came out of the palace, or went to the Yue-mí-yeng garden, he was attended by two rows, two in each, of persons who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, or who wore red on the tops of their caps. They used fur cushions or carpets spread on the floor.

"For the use of the emperor in the hot season, the ice in the lake to the northwest of his palace inclosure is broken open, as we saw, with hatchets and axes, &c., and pieces about three or four cubits thick, and two or three long, have a hole made at one end as is done by us to logs of timber, and are conveyed by ropes and put into the moat surrounding the palace inclosure. This ice melts and becomes water in consequence of the heat in the increasing month of March.

"The emperor appoints seven different governors; to the westward two, to the southward three, and to the eastward two. There is no governor appointed to the northward, where the kingdom joins to Tartary. There are thirteen officers who exercise authority under one of the western governors. The names of those who receive orders from the tetü, who commands the soldiers under the governor, are tí-taik, kheng-taik, shyin-taik, taük-taik, tshän-kyan, kō-kyge, tū-tseng, shyō-pe, tsheng-tsoün, pê-tsoün, wū-tsoün, and lô-tsoün, making altogether thirteen military officers. There are ten civil officers under the governor, and their names are phú-taik, who exercise authority over the revenue officers, sitting on the left hand of the governor, and on an equality with him; and under the phú-taik and receiving orders from him, are, Phú-khueng, Yeng-tse, Yeng-taung, Pan-tshaing, Tá-kau-koün, Shyauk-kau-koün, Tú-tó, and Teng-tsaní, making ten great and small civil officers. The governor has authority over and issues orders equally to both classes of officers. In the same manner as we have above described, the other six governors exercise authority over the military and revenue officers. With each governor under the tetü there are seven military officers, and under each military officer there are 3,000 musketeers, making 21,000 under the seven officers. Under the seven governors, there are seven tetü, 49 military officers, and 147,000 soldiers. When the soldiers are to receive their monthly pay, orders are given to the phū-taik, who brings the money to the governor, and he delivers it to the chief of the soldiers, to the tetü, who distributes it amongst the soldiers, at the rate of three ticals of Chinese silver a man per month. There are eight officers near the person of the emperor, receiving and executing his orders. The wún-gyíh (minister) Lí-pú tá-yeng, Lí-pú tá-yeng, Koun-pú tá-yeng, Hú-pú tá-yeng, Pyeng-pú

tá-yeng, Shyeng-pú tá-yeng, Nue-pú tá-yeng, and Kyóm-hein tetüñ. Lí-pú tá-yeng has a general control over the affairs of the empire. Lí-pú tá-yeng has authority over ambassadors and persons who have come from a distance. Koun-pú tí-yeng has authority over all that relates to learned men and artificers. Hú-pú tá-yeng has authority over the revenue, cultivation of lands, and lists of the population taken once in three years. Pyeng-pú-tá-yeng has authority over carriages, horses, and boats used for conveyance to different places, and he grants orders with his seal whenever they are required. Shyeng-pú tá-yeng exercises authority over thieves, robbers, and all whose crimes are deserving of punishment. Nue-pú tá-yeng has charge of the palace, and all that relates to it. Kyó-mhein tetüñ has charge of the different gates of Peking.

"On the jackets worn by the military officers, on the breast and back, there is the figure of a tiger; and on the jackets worn by the civil officers, on the breast and back, there is the figure of a bird. On the breast and back of the jackets worn by the 147,000 lâ-tseng, (Chinese word for musketeers?) there is an inscription in the Chinese character. The civil and military officers, according to their several talents, receive as a mark of distinction, one, two or three peacock's tails. There are not more than three peacock's tails; but the mark of distinction above that number, is to have the top of the head-dress colored red. The royal family wear on the top of their head-dress three rows of rubies. When a Chinese governor travels, there are five men on each side of the road in front of him, carrying iron chains and howling like dogs. The officers under the governor are accompanied by six, four, or two men, according to the respective rank of such officers. Whenever all these officers, including the governor, go abroad, a salute of three guns is fired, and at every military post, of which there is one at every two miles on the road, a salute of three guns is fired, when these officers arrive at those military posts. The governor, tetüñ, tí-taik, kheng-taik, shyín-taik, tauk-taik, with the civil officers phü-taik, phü-khueng, tsō-khueng and yeng-tse, every night at 9 o'clock shut their doors, fire three guns, and go to sleep. At dawn in the morning the doors of their houses are opened, and a salute of three guns is fired. The governor, tetüñ, phü-taik, and all other military and civil officers perform the public service on monthly wages, paid agreeably to their respective ranks. In order that the money of the poor may not be diminished, those who deserve flogging are flogged, and those who deserve imprisonment are imprisoned (meaning that there are no fines).

"In the empire of China there are no leaf palm, palmyra, mango, jack, betelnut, plantain, tamarind, lime, guava, or custard-apple tree. The trees which grow before you reach Peking, in the neighborhood of Mō-myín, Yunnan, and Kweichow, are walnuts, chestnuts, pears, firs, wild palmyras, wild plantain trees, pumplemoos, and oranges. In the city of Peking there are not any large trees or bamboos, or fire-wood for cooking, as there are at Ava; there are fir trees only. Food is cooked with coal, and there is a separate hill from which the coal is brought.

"Between Bamoo and the city of Peking there are 120 stages, and a distance of 6,944,000 cubits. We halted in 59 cities and 59 villages, and twice in the jungle, making altogether 120 stages. We left Ava for China on the 18th June, 1823, and returned to Ava on the 14th March, 1825."

The journal of the embassy is given by Col. Burney from official documents; in this journal it is stated that the elephants died before reaching Peking. We omit it, and pass on the third and last mission. The Burmese *taing* is equal to 2 miles $293\frac{2}{3}$ yards, or 2 miles and one coss.

"The last embassy sent by the king of Ava to Peking," says Burney, "accompanied a Chinese embassy, which arrived at Ava in the month of April, 1833. The principal envoy from China was distinguished by a great attachment to strong liquors, with which the Burmese government liberally supplied him, and he was often publicly seen in a state of intoxication. The principal envoy of the Burmese deputation was a tsaredo-gyih whose family name is Maung Weng, and with whom I was well acquainted. But on his return from China he caught a jungle fever which brought on mental derangement, from the effects of which the poor man is not recovered at this date, 1836. The fever was caught after the envoy had entered his own country again, for a large tract of territory above Ava is considered by the Burmese as particularly unhealthy. The following is a translation of such portions of the proceedings of this late embassy as I have yet been able to procure."

Letter from the emperor of China to the king of Ava in 1833. "Elder brother Taoukwang, king of U'dí, who, assisted by the Thagyá Nat, governs the great kingdoms and countries to the eastward, affectionately addresses younger brother, the sun-descended king, lord of the golden palace, and owner of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and noble serpentine, who governs the great kingdoms and countries, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward. Elder brother, who obtained possession of the throne through the glory

of his ancestors, is in amicable relations with various kingdoms and countries. In elder brother's empire also, elder brother himself, his queen, sons, daughters, nobles and officers, together with the inhabitants of the country are in good health; and he desires to hear and know, that in younger brother's empire also, the sun-descended king, his queen, sons, daughters, nobles, officers, the poor people and royal slaves, are all well and happy. In pursuance of the custom which has existed since the year 1787, in the reign of his grandfather Kečnlung, king of U'di, for a royal letter with presents to pass once in ten years, the ten years having expired, a royal letter with gifts, four good horses, and various cloths, such as are always presented, are now sent with Tshein tálóyé, and Yeng-tsheng-yé. On their arrival, let younger brother, the sun-descended king, agreeably to the friendship and love subsisting between the two countries as if they were one, and according to existing custom, prepare a royal letter and envoys in return and forward them. When the men deputed by the sun-descended king and the royal letter and gifts arrive at the city of Yunnan, the (governor of Yunnan) will appoint officers to convey them safely on the road as far as the great city (Peking), and the envoys deputed by the sun-descended king with the royal letter and presents shall be suitably taken care of and entertained. Let the men, Tshein tálóyé, and Yeng-tsheng-yé, whom elder brother deputes, return soon; and when the envoys come back it will be like having seen the countenance of younger brother, the lord of the golden palace."

Answer from the king of Ava to the letter from the emperor of China, received at Ava in the month of April, 1833. "The lord of the Tshaddan elephant, the master of many white elephants, the owner of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber and noble serpentine, who bears the title and designation of *Thiri tari bawana ditiya dipadi pawara pandita mahā dhamma-rājā dirājā*,* the royal supporter of religion, the sun-descended king, lord of life and great king of righteousness, who governs the great kingdoms and countries and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, affectionately addresses (his) royal friend Taoukwang, king of U'di, who governs the great kingdoms and countries, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. In accordance with the friendship which (his) royal grandfather Men:dará-gyih (great king of righteousness), who founded the golden city of Amarapura, and king of U'di's royal grandfather, Kečnlung, affectionately cultivated for a long period of years, royal letters with presents were reciprocally sent once in ten years without interruption. On the 8th day of the waning moon of Tagu in the Burmese year 1194 (April 12th, 1833), when royal friend (king of Ava) had been in possession of the throne for fourteen years, and Taoukwang king of U'di for 12 years, Tshein tálóyé, Yeng-

* This is a title conferred upon himself by the king of Ava since the date of the war with the British government, and the meaning of the Páli words is thus translated by the Burmese: "The illustrious lord of life, who exercises boundless dominion and possesses supreme wisdom, the exalted king of righteousness and king of kings." It is, I believe, the third title which he has given himself since his accession to the throne in 1819. Burney.

tsheng-ye, Tsó-ló-tsonn, Lá-tsheng-yé and Yan-la-tsheng-yé, having arrived with a royal letter and various presents, consisting of three cups of the noble serpentine; two cups of the same, covered with flowers; goglet of the same; two jackets of fur lined with yellow silk, four jackets of the same fur lined with plum-colored silk; eight rolls of brocade; six rolls of various kinds of velvet; six large rolls of satin, and four horses: they were received and brought to Ava in a suitable manner. On the day on which the New-year's kado (beg-pardon audience) was held, the royal letter and presents being arranged in the palace in front of the throne, his majesty came out and took his seat attended by the royal son, younger brothers, kinsmen, and all the nobles and officers, and had the royal letter submitted and read out. His majesty was pleased to hear, that the king of U'dí himself, his queen, sons, daughters and kinsmen are well and happy. Royal friend himself also, his queen, son, daughters and kinsmen are well and happy. Agreeably to the friendship subsisting between the two great countries, his majesty has appointed as his envoys in return Men-thá-yázá-gyó, of the royal household, Né-myó-yázá, Né-myó-yé-gaung norathá and Né-myó-bula-thú, and sends them with the following presents: two ruby rings for royal friend's own wearing; two sapphire rings; two blocks of noble serpentine weighing forty-eight viss and forty ticals; four elephants' teeth weighing forty-four viss and sixty ticals; three whole pieces of scarlet broadcloth, three of green and two of yellow; ten pieces of long-cloth; 10 pieces of European chintz; 10 pieces of European handkerchiefs; 10 foreign carpets; one hundred of silver leaf; three viss of white sandal-wood, three viss of red, three viss of bastard sandal-wood; ten bottles of otto of roses; ten bottles of rose water; two lacquered-ware boxes with high conical covers, gilded and inlaid with pieces of looking-glass; two of the same with flowers engraved on the lacquered work and gilded; two of the same engraved according to the Yuon pattern; two of the same with high stands and engraved in the same manner; four round lacquered boxes, each capable of containing half a basket, and engraved according to the Yuon pattern; 50 small round boxes of a quarter of a basket measure each; fifteen peacock's tails, with four male elephants and one female. Let these envoys return soon, and when they come back, it will be like having met and seen royal friend, king of U'dí."

Copy of the instructions given by the ministers of Ava to the ambassadors appointed to proceed to China from Ava.

Men-thá-yázá-gyó, Né-myó-yázá, Né-myó-yé-gaung norathá, and Né-myó-bula-thú, who have been appointed by his majesty ambassadors to proceed to China, having received charge of the royal letter and presents, and having been furnished with boats and crews complete, namely, the governor of Bamoo's gilded paddle boat with a brass *pya-that* for the king's letter, a *phaung* or accommodation boat with a double roof for the royal presents, a war boat for Men-thá-yá-

zá-gyó, a phaung with a plain roof for the other ambassadors, and another phaung with a roof partly plain and partly double for the Chinese envoys: they will depart from Ava on a propitious day. They must travel the proper stages in the following order. In front of all, the boat with the king's letter, then that with the royal presents, then Men-thá-yázá-gyó's boat, then the boat of the other ambassadors, then the boat of the Chinese envoys, and lastly the governor of Bamoo's phaung with the war and other paddle and row boats.

At each halting-place the sheds and provisions which have been built and collected, are to be allotted and distributed by the headmen of the place, who will, agreeably to the orders issued by the ministers, calculate the number of men, and deliver provisions sufficient for each man from one halting-place to another.

On arriving at Bamoo, the 215 boatmen with the phaungs and other boats must be sent back to Ava, the governor and officers of Bamoo supplying the men with provisions sufficient for their journey back. Letters reporting the day of arrival there and every other particular, must also be sent down by these men for the information of the king and ministers.

Men-thá-yázá-gyó, and some of the officers with him will have a shed with a square roof built at Bamoo, and lodge the royal letter and presents in the same. For the more easy conveyance of the royal letter the governor of that place will construct a plank *ta-zaung* (a portable pyramidal structure), having three roofs, and an umbrella and other ornaments, with a door on one side with a lock and key, and varnish and gild the whole. In this the royal letter must be placed, the lock fastened and care taken that no rain is admitted, and it must be carried carefully by men whom the town of Bamoo will furnish. The four male elephants and one female, intended as presents for the emperor of China, will proceed by land to Bamoo, so that they may travel with ease and be fully supplied with grass.

Two hundred men being expeditiously supplied to proceed from Bamoo to the Chinese boundary, the ambassadors will travel by the usual stages, and having in front two men with rods.

On your arrival at Maing-tshi, viâ Mo-myín, you will represent that you are to promote the advantage of both sovereigns; that friendship has existed between the countries of the two kings (here some of the long titles of the kings are given) from the time of their ancestors; and that you have been deputed, and are come as ambassadors with a royal letter and presents. That in the eastern empire, Ynen-tá-yain the

governor of Maíng-tshi, and in the western Menthá-yázá the governor of Bamoo, are placed like boundary flags and outposts, and are required to promote the advantage of both countries, conformably to the qualifications essential to governors and generals.

Do not remain long at Maíng-tshí: request that the royal letter and presents and the elephants may be conveyed, so as to reach Peking properly; speak boldly, and as persons who are well acquainted with what is due to kings, to religion and to this world, and then proceed. Speak also on the subject of Ma-ha-weng, and Maha-nué of Kyain-youn-gyíh, in the manner you have been instructed, following the memorandum given you on this point, and taking care that much discussion may not arise, and that you may persuade and overcome. Prepare and transmit a report to Ava of all that may be proper to be submitted without any omissions, once from Mo-myín, and once from Maíng-tshí.

After leaving Maíng-tshí, and when you reach Peking, observe and record everything carefully and unreservedly, so as to justify the confidence and favor of his majesty, who has selected you, and speak daily with firmness.

You must note and bring back with you, after making inquiries secretly and ascertaining, what the emperor of China worships in order to obtain neibban; what he practices and worships in order to obtain advantages in this world; as well as an account of his queens, concubines, kinsmen, children, nobles, and officers, and of their equipage, dress and ceremonies, with a map and description of China and Tartary. You must express a desire to go and worship the genuine teeth of Gaudama, and in order that you may obtain positive information, you must go yourself, and see and take an account of everything curious or worthy to be seen and known. You must also apply for permission to go and see and take an account of caves, pagodas, and zayats in every quarter.

You must always keep in mind the interest of his majesty, and execute his service boldly and truly, in fulfillment of his majesty's belief when he appointed you, that you would accomplish every point in which the two countries are concerned, and in accordance with the favor which you have received from, and the obligation which you owe to his majesty.

The royal woondauk Mahá-men-gyá-yázá submitted and read the above on the 28th June, 1833, to the prince of Tsalen, and to the wúngyíhs, Kyí-wun men-gyíh, Myá-wadí men-gyíh, Padain men-gyíh, Ngarane men-gyíh, and Kyouk-tshaung men-gyíh.

Route of a journey from the city of Ava to the city of Peking, traveled by a mission deputed by the king of Ava to the emperor of China in the year 1833.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
June 27th.	Left the city of Ava by water, and stopped at the temporary buildings occupied by the Chinese ambassadors, at the pagoda of Shue-gyet,	—	The boats of the Chinese envoys were made to follow those of the Burmese envoys.
28th.	Proceeded to Amarapura, at which the Chinese envoys desired to stop a day, with some of their relatives and friends residing there, . . .	3	
30th.	Stopped at Shyáh-yaung village under Tságain	3	
1st.	Village of Shein-ma-gá,	7	
2d.	City of Kyauk-myaung,	11	
3d.	Jungle village of Thein-kha,	7	
4th.	City of Tsain-bay-ngaó,	6	
5th.	City of Henga-moo,	9	
6th.	City of Ta-gaung,	6	
7th.	City of Khyun-daung,	4	
8th.	Village of Thi-gyain, under the city Mya-daung	4	
9th.	Village of Thá-gaya, under Mya-daung,	5	
10th.	Village of Nyaung-khye-dauk under Ka-thá city	5	
11th.	City of Ka-thá, where the fleet stopped a day, as the boats of the Chinese envoys had not come up, and the stream was very violent, . . .	4	
13th.	Village of Let-pán-zín (line of silk cotton trees) under the city of Yen-gè or Yeng-khyé,	3	
14th.	Village of Tshí-byú-goún under Shúe-gú city,	5	
15th.	City of Shúe-gú,	5	
16th.	Village of Tsín-khan under city of Kaung-toún	5	
17th.	Village of Len-ban-gya under city of Ba-moo,	5	
18th.	City of Ba-moo,	3	The Chinese envoys, Tshein táloyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, had 34 followers, the 4 Burmese envoys had 46, and the crews of the boats amounted to 218 men. All these men were supplied with provisions by the chiefs of the different towns and villages on our route from Ava to Bamoo, and the current being very strong between the village of Thi-gyain and Bamoo, the fleet was assisted by additional paddle boats and men sent by the chiefs of the different places lying in that portion of our journey. On the 26th June, the officer in charge of the elephants intended as presents for the emperor of China arrived at Bamoo, with four of these animals only, and reported, that on the journey from Ava, they had all got loose at the village of Mo-wún, under Kaung-toún, and that on pursuing and overtaking them on the Nga-zín Ka-khyen hill, in the territory of Mo-meit, he found one dead. The mission stopped 23 days at Bamoo, preparing for their land journey, and collecting horses and porters. The governor made a small pyramidal box with a lock and key and gilded it all over, for holding the king of Ava's letter. On the 11th August, 1833, the embassy left Bamoo in the following order: 2 men holding gilded rods; then the box containing the royal letter; then the boxes containing the royal presents; then the baggage of the ambassadors; then a couple of jingals; then 100 musketeers; and then the Burmese ambassadors dressed in full uniform and mounted on elephants. On both sides of the streets, the women poured out libations of water, and the officers of the city escorted the embassy outside, with music and dancing. Sacrifices were also made, by order of the governor, to the guardian nats of the place. There were 200 porters, and 50 bullocks for conveying the baggage, and a guard of 100 musketeers and 100 lancers with 2 jingals, besides 15 men sent by the governor of Bamoo to return from Yunnan, with letters from the ambassadors, reporting progress. Outside of the city the principal Burmese ambassador entered a covered sedan chair, and the rest of the Burmese and the Chinese envoys mounted horses.

Date. 1833.	Names of places	Taings	Remarks.
Aug.	Left Ba-moo, and slept at the		
11th.	village of Mò:mauk,	6	
12th	Slept at the Ta-dá-gyih,	4	
13th.	Slept at the village of the Ka- khyen chief of Tein mount.	6	
14th.	Slept at the village of the Ka- khyen chief Ma-theng,	6	Here the mission stopped a day in consequence of the porters not having come up with the baggage.
16th.	Slept at the foot of the Main- klah mountain,	6	As far as this place provisions were brought for us all from Bamoo.
17th	Slept at the Luay-laing-ken or chokey (Shan Lôai-leng, red hill or mountain),	7	Here the mission was met by a party of Chinese, under Tsoun-lô-tsoón, which had been sent by the governor of Mò:myín (Theng-ye), and to which we transferred the charge of the royal letter and presents and all our baggage. The Burmese porters and guard who come with us from Bamoo were paid what was right and proper, and sent back to that city on the 18th.
18th.	Left the frontier chokey, and reached the city of Mò-wún (Chinese Long-tchuen fó) (Shan Mung-wan),	8	This is one of the eight Shan cities. The mission, considering that it was the rainy season when the streams are full, and difficult to cross, stopped at this city 3 days, for the purpose of recruiting the royal elephants properly.
22d	Left Mò-wún, and slept at the Ken-dat or fortified chokey on the top of the Shyá-mue- loué mountain,	-	Here the mission found táldôyé, the Nan-ten officer, having authority over 1000 men, and Tsoun-yín having authority over 500 men, who were sent by the governor of Mò:myín to meet the mission, and who, after communicating with the envoys, returned to Mò:myín.
23d.	Slept at the village of Man- toun,	8	
24th	Slept at the village of Nanteng (Shan Múngtí, and Burmese Maindi),	7	Here the mission stopped a day to refresh the elephants.
26th.	Reached the city of Mò-myín. (Chinese Thengyi chow, Shan Múng-myen,)	10	The governor of Mò:myín came out in state with troops half a taing in advance of the city to meet the Burmese envoys, whom he conveyed into the town in sedan chairs, and entertained with a play. The walls of Mò-myín are of brick, 1050 cubits square and 10 cubits high, with one gateway on each side. There is a governor and the military officer. The former has charge of the revenue and judicial affairs, and the latter commands the military. There are 3000 soldiers, and only 10 guns and mortars. The governor's house is at the northwest angle of the town, and to the westward there are two granaries capable of holding about 2000 baskets of paddy each. The envoys reported their arrival at Mò:myín to the king of Ava. On the 4th September, the governor of Mò:myín dispatched the Burmese interpreter, Thíri-gyô-den, with the Chinese interpreter Nga-shue-tha, under charge of Ha-tsoun-yín, Kyí-pu-tayín and Yan-lô-tsoón, to proceed to Peking in advance of the mission. The envoys and the royal letter and presents were then put in charge of the officer Tsu táldôyé, who wore a blue button, and commanded 1000 men, the interpreter Main-tha, who was a Shan, and a Chinese interpreter Nga-pa-nouk, and 5 other men who wore a white button. The mission stopped nine days at Mò:myín.
Sept.	Left the city of Mò-myín, and		
7th.	slept at the village of Kán- lan-tshan,	8	

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Sept. 8th.	Stopped at the village of Pá-weng, after crossing an iron bridge 7 cubits broad and 70 long, over the Shue-lí river,	8	
9th.	Stopped at the village of Phú-pyauk, after crossing the Salween river in a boat,....	7	
10th.	Slept at the city of Wun-tsheng (Chinese Yongtchang fú and Burmese Wun-zen). .	6	The governor and military commander
12th.	Slept at the Knonhō village, .	4	came out in state and met the mission
13th.	Stopped at the Shyá-muhō village, after crossing an iron bridge 105 cubits long and seven broad, over the Mè-khaung river,.....	8	a taing in advance of this city where
14th.	Slept at Yoún-pyen-hien,....	9	we stopped a day. The walls of this city are 1750 cubits square and 6 cubits high. There are 2 arched gateways on each face, and there is a military officer as well as a governor here.
15th.	Slept at the village of Khuon-leng-phú,	9	
16th.	Five taings beyong Khuon-leng-phú, we crossed an iron bridge 70 cubits long and 7 broad, over a river which separates from the Hô-kyán and falls into the Mè-khaung and stopped at the village of Yan-pyin-hien,	5	
17th.	Crossed, in the Yan-pyin-hien village, an iron bridge 56 cubits long and 7 broad over the Hô-kyán river, which flows from the Tálí lake, & stopped at Hô-kyánpō village	6	
18th.	Slept at the city of Tsauk-chow subject to the jurisdiction of the city of Tálí,...	9	There is no wall round this town, but
19th.	Slept at Khoún-haik village, .	8	there is an arched gateway with a
20th.	Slept at Yit-nán-yí village,...	9	double roof.
21st.	Slept at Phú-poún village, ..	6	
22d.	Slept at Shyá-khyauk village, ..	8	
23d.	Passed the city of Kyen-nán-chow,.....	3	The walls of this town are five cubits
23d.	Slept at the village of Lí-hô,	3	high, 700 cubits long from east to west, and upwards of 560 cubits from north to south, with a gateway on each face. There is a governor and commander of cavalry here.
24th.	Slept at the city of Tshú-shyoún or (Tchou-hiung or Tchou-yung.)	6	The walls of this town are about 5 or 6 cubits high, 2,100 cubits from east to west, and 2800 cubits from north to south. There are 2 gates in the eastern and western faces, and one only at each of the other two faces. A governor, a military officer, a shyeng-gueng, and three other officers have charge of the town.
25th.	Slept at Kueng-toún-hien city	7	
26th.	Slept at Shyè-tshe village, ..	6	

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
27th.	Slept at city of Lú-thoún-hien,	8	The walls of this town are upwards of 2,100 cubits square, and 4 or 5 cubits high, with a gateway on each side. A governor has charge of the town.
28th.	Slept at Lô-ya-kuon village..	6	
29th.	Slept at the city of An-lêng-chow,	8	The walls of this town are upwards of 4,900 cubits square, and 5 or 6 high, with a gateway on each face. There is a governor here also. Seeing but few houses within and without the city, we asked the inhabitants the cause, and they told us that the town had been ruined by an excessive salt tax.
30th.	Reached the city of Maing-tshí (Yunnan), the residence of the governor,	6	

6300 cubits square, and 6 cubits high, with battlements complete. On each of the eastern and western faces, there are two gateways, and on the southern and northern only one. At each gateway there are 6 pieces of cannon capable of carrying shot weighing a viss or half a viss. The gateways are arched and have double roofs over them. There is a large lake which extends from the south to the west of the town, in which there is a great deal of cultivation. Two or three severe shocks of earthquake had been daily felt in this town between the 6th and 28th September, 1833, and upwards of six hundred brick houses had been thrown down, and upwards of ninety men killed. We saw portions of the walls of the town and a great many houses in ruins, and found the inhabitants of the country much alarmed.

On inquiry we learnt, that at Yunnan, there is a governor named Yueng-ta-yeng, and a tetü named Lô-tá-yeng, and there are eight officers under them, Lí-tá-yeng, Phan-tá-yeng, Khô-tá-yeng, Nyo-tá-yeng, Tsheín táloyê, Tshan táloyê, Lô táloyê, and a royal teacher named Lítan. The governor superintends the revenue and civil affairs; the tetü governs the military. The í-tá-yeng conducts, under the orders of the governor, all civil matters which occur at any place subject to the jurisdiction of the governor. The Phan-tá-yeng takes charge of all the revenue collected therein, and disburses pay to the military when ordered by the governor. The Khô-tá-yeng examines and tries all criminal offenses committed within the same extent of jurisdiction. The Nyo-tá-yeng collects the land and salt taxes. The three officers, Tsheín táloyê, Tshan táloyê and Lô táloyê have jurisdiction within the city of Yunnan only, in which they conduct the revenue and judicial duties. The royal teacher, Lí-tan, examines all men within the governor's jurisdiction who come to him, as to their learning and skill in archery, and in the musket, sword and lance exercises, and reports whether they are qualified for the public service or not.

The royal elephants joined the mission at Yunnan on 16th October, and on the following day the Burmese envoys waited on the governor and communicated to him the two subjects comprised in their instructions from Ava. The envoys requested the governor to solicit the emperor to put a stop to the differences which exists between Mahá-weng and Mahá-nue the Thín-ví or Shan chiefs of Kyain Youn-gyíh (a town eight days' journey to the east of Kyain-toun, situated on the great Camboja river and on the frontiers of China, the chiefs of which pay tribute to both Ava and China). The envoys also requested the governor to make certain subjects of China, who had worked the royal silver mines at Bô-duen during the years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832 to pay up the balance of the duty they owed the king of Ava. The duty was upwards of two hundred viss, but these men had only paid thirty viss, and had gone off to Tshú-shyoún, Tálí, and Mó-mýín.

The envoys sent back from Yunnan the elephantteers and men whom the governor of Ba-noo had ordered to accompany the mission so far. Chinese were appointed by the governor agreeably to ancient custom, to take charge of the elephants. The mission now consisting of the four envoys and their thirty followers, besides two men acquainted with the Chinese language, whom the go-

vernor of Bamoo had attached to the envoys, left Yunnan on the 21st October, 1833, attended by the undermentioned Chinese appointed by the governor to take charge of the mission. Two military officers, Kue-tá-yeng who had a red button, and Tsú táloyè who had a blue button; and two civil officers, Tsheng táloyè who had a blue button, and Teng táloyè who had a transparent white button; and eight subordinate officers. Tí táloyè, who had a white button, and Tshue táloyè, Shyá løyè, Tsoun løyè, Mo-wé løyè, Houn løyè, Thoun løyè, and Han løyè, each of whom wore a brass button.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Oct. 21st.	Left the Yunnan city and slept at Wún-khyauk villlage,...	5	
22d.	Slept at Yau-leit village,....	7	We learned from Pyeng táloyè the governor of this place, and some men of rank, who came and paid us a visit, that this town had consisted of upwards of 2,000 houses, but that at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 6th September last, an earthquake had completely destroyed the place, leaving not a single house or shed standing, and killing upwards of a thousand of the inhabitants.
23d.	Slept at Yí-loún-tsán village,	9	The walls of this city are 6,300 cubits in circumference and ten cubits high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. The name of the governor is Lhyó táloyè.
24th.	Slept at the city of Má-loun-chow, (Malong,).....	7	The walls of this city are 4900 cubits in circumference and 9 cubits high, with a gateway on each of the four sides. Lhyó táloyè is the governor.
25th.	Slept at the city of Shyá-yi-chow,.....	5	The walls are about 4900 cubits in circumference and 5 cubits high, and has a gateway on the east, west, and south faces, but none on the north. The governor is Tsán táloyè.
26th.	Slept at Pè-shue village,...	7	
27th.	Slept at the city of Pyeng-yeng-hien,.....	6	
28th.	Slept at Yí-za-khoún village,	7	
29th.	Slept at Yó-kuon-teng-tsan village,.....	7	
30th.	Slept at the village of Shyan-tsain,.....	7	
31st.	Slept at Pè-shyá-tí village,...	4	
Nov 1	Slept at A-tú-teng village...	6	
2d.	Slept at the city of La-taing,.	6	The walls are upwards of 2800 cubits in circumference and ten cubits high, with a gateway on each of the four sides. The governor is Tsheng táloyè.
3d.	Slept at Bó-koun village, ...	6	The walls are upwards of 4900 cubits in circumference, and 12 cubits high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsbauk táloyè is the governor.
4th.	Slept at the city of Tsein-leng-chow, (Tchin-ning?)..	6	The walls are about 7000 cubits in circumference and ten high with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Kyeng táloyè and Tshien løyè are the governors.
5th.	Slept at An-shue-fú, (Nganchan?).....	6	The walls are 4900 cubits round and ten high with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsó táloyè is the governor.
6th.	Slept at the city of Ngan-pyeng-hien,.....	8	The walls are about 1,400 cubits round and ten high, with gateways on each of the 4 sides. Myen táloyè is the governor.
7th.	Slept at the city of Tsheng-tsein-hien,.....	6	
8th.	Slept at the Kwei-chow city, (Koci-ngang?).....	8	The walls are about 10,500 cubits round

and 15 high, with 4 gateways on the north face, 2 on the east, 1 on the south, and 2 on the west. The officers here are Tsoûn-tá-yéng, military officer and 4 governors, Lán-tá-yéng, Tsán-tá-yéng, Lhyó táloyè and Tsán táloyè. The governor of Yunnan has jurisdiction in all civil, criminal, and revenue affairs, in all places subject to both Kweichow and Yunnan cities; but he has no power in military affairs, which are superintended by the military officers tetùh and tí-taik. The officers under the governor only disburse the pay of the military. The mission stopped at this city one day.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
10th.	Slept at the city of Loûn-lí-hien,.....	6	The walls are about 600 cubits round and ten high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Pá-má-tsoûn is the governor. The mission stopped here a day as the porters with the baggage had not come up.
12th.	Slept at the city of Kue-tein-hien,.....	7	The walls are about 3500 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsauk táloyè is the governor.
13th.	Slept at the village of Lhyó-yan-tsán,.....	6	
14th.	Slept at the city of Yeng-pyeng-hien,.....	8	The walls are about 6300 cubits round and ten high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Yan táloyè is the governor.
15th.	Slept at the city of Khan-pyeng-chow, (Koang-ping?)	7	The walls are upwards of 4900 cubits round and 5 high, with 1 gateway on each of the sides. Shyeng táloyè is the governor.
16th.	Slept at the city of Tsi-pyeng-hien,.....	7	The walls are about 5600 cubits round and 12 high, with 1 gateway on each of the four sides. Tsán táloyè is the governor.
17th.	Slept at the river's side in the city of Tsein-yuón-fú, (Tchin-yuen,).....	7	The walls are about 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsán táloyè is the governor. The mission stopped here 3 days preparing boats and embarking in them.
20th.	Dropped down the stream in boats from Tsein-yuón-fú & stopped at the city of Tshí-tshein-hien,.....	6	The walls are 4900 cubits round, and 10 high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Shyen táloyè is the governor.
21st.	Slept at Tá-yí-tán chokey,...	9	
22d.	Slept at Pyan-sine village,...	10	
23d.	Stopped at Yí-pyen-hien city and received provisions....	7	The walls are 5600 cubits round and 7 high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lhyó táloyè is the governor.
23d.	Slept at the city of Yuón-tsó-fú,.....	3	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 9 high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. There are a great many small villages dependent on this city. It has 3 governors, Tsoûn táloyè, Phu táloyè and Lí táloyè.
24th.	Left Yuón-tsó-fú at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and dropped down as far only as the chokey village of Kyin-teng dan,.....	3	
25th.	Slept at Khyay-ya-hien city,...	10	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 6 high, with 2 gateways on the south side and one only on each of the other sides. Tsoûn táloyè is the governor.
26th.	Slept off the landing place at the village of Tshi-tshí,....	9	
27th.	Slept at Shyeng-yi-wun,.....	16	
28th.	Slept at the city of Tseng-kyí-hien,.....	13	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Taik táloyè is the governor.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings.	Remarks.
29th.	Slept at the city of Lú-kyí-hien,	8	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lyéng táloyé is the governor.
30th.	Slept at the city of Shyeng-tsó-fú, (Tching-tcheou?)...	6	The walls are 8400 cubits round and ten high, with four gateways on the south
Dec 1	Slept at Kaing-shyo village, ..	17	side and one only on each of the other 3 sides. Wun táloyé is the governor.
2d.	Slept at Tsoún-seh village, ..	15	
3d.	Reached the city of Tshan-tek-fú, (Tchang-té,)	6	The mission disembarked from the boats and remained here during the 4th of
5th.	Proceeded by land and slept at the village of Tá-loun-tsan, ..	6	Dec. making arrangements for prosecuting their journey by land.
6th.	Slept at Tsi-khuá-yí village, ..	6	
7th.	Slept at the city of Lí-chow, ..	6	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 9 high, with two gateways on the western, and only one on each of the other three sides. Tshein táloyé and Tsán táloyé are the governor. The mission stopped here 3 days, as the porters with the baggage had not come up.
10th.	Slept at the village of Shue-leng-yeng,	6	The mission was detained at this village a day, a relief of porters not being immediately procurable.
12th.	Slept at the city of Koun-gan-hien,	8	The walls are 5250 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway at each of the 4 sides. Tsú táloyé is the governor.
14th.	Slept at Tshuon-lén-ye village ..	5	The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up.
13th.	Slept at the city of Kyeng-tsó-fú, (Kin-tcheou,)	6	The walls are 21,000 cubits round and ten high, with two gateways each on the eastern and western sides, and one only on each of the other two sides. Tsán táloyé, Tsheng táloyé, and Lhyó táloyé are the governors. The walls of this city are very handsomely and properly built, and the ditch surrounding them is full of water, on which we saw a great many boats plying. The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up.
17th.	Slept at the village of Kyeng-yeng-ye,	9	The mission was detained in this village two days in consequence of a great fall of snow which had covered the roads and made them impassable.
20th.	Slept at the city of Kyeng-mein-chow, (Kinmen,)	9	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 9 high, with 2 gateways on the southern, and 1 only on each of the other three sides. Lú táloyé is the governor. The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters not having come up with the baggage.
22d.	Slept at Shí-khyauk village, ..	6	
23d.	Slept at Leng-yan-yé village, ..	6	
24th.	Slept at Yí-tshein-hein city, ..	9	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshauk táloyé is the governor.
25th.	Slept at the city of Thuon-tshéng, (Syang-yang,)	9	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each of the four sides. Weng-tá-yeng and Gsueng-yeng are the governors. In consequence of the whole of the country between the cities of Tshan-tek fú and Thuon-tshéng having been destroyed by an inundation in the year 1829, great difficulty is now experienced there in procuring post horses and porters. The mission was repeatedly obliged to wait, and was unable to travel the distance between the two cities in less than twenty-two days,

although the same journey formerly occupied only twelve days. The officers, appointed by the governor of Yunnan to escort the mission, here stated, that they had received letters, ordering them to make all haste, as the feast of lanterns in the month of February was near at hand, and they requested that, in order to facilitate the journey, the Burmese envoys should each proceed in a covered chair, having an ass harnessed to it before and another behind. The mission stopped at this city 6 days, and hired 50 sumpter-horses and mules at 50 ticals each to convey the presents and baggage, leaving the lighter articles only to be carried by porters.

Date. 1834.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Jan. 1st.	Left the city of Thuon-isheng in covered chairs with large horses, and stopped at the village of Lhyô-yeng-yí.....	6	
2d.	Stopped at the city of Yí or Rí-hein,.....	6	The walls of this city are 4200 cubits round and ten high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Wún táloyè is the governor.
3d.	Slept at Wá-teng village, ...	6	
4th.	Slept at Nan-yan-fú (Nan- yang),	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each of the four sides. Yéng táloyè and Shyauk táyéng are the governors.
5th.	Stopped at Tseng-teng village in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up,.....	3	
6th.	Slept at the village of Tsô-hô,	6	
7th.	Stopped at the city of Yí-chow, being unable to proceed in consequence of a fall of snow, (Yu?)	4	
8th.	Slept at Kyô-sheng village,...	9	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 14 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsoún táloyè is the governor.
9th.	Stopped at the city of Yní-hien, the porters with the baggage not having come up,	3	
10th.	Slept at Shan-hein city,.....	6	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Lô táloyè is the governor.
11th.	Slept at Tshan-kô-hein city,...	11	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 11 high, with 2 gateways on the eastern, and one only on the three other sides. Tsán táloyè is the governor.
12th.	Slept at Sheng-tseng-khyeng,	6	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 9 high, with a gateway on each side. Wún táloyè is the governor.
13th.	Slept at the city of Tseng-chow, (Tching?)	6	The walls are 9300 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tsán táloyè is the governor.
14th.	On leaving Tseng-chow we found the Yellow river was frozen, & being unable to proceed by the same route as that traveled in 1823 by the present governor of Bamoo, we deviated to the NW., and stopped at the city of Yoún-yán-hien,	10	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Lô táloyè is the governor.
15th.	Stopped at Hú-lô-kun city to change post-horses and porters	7	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tseng táloyè is the governor.
		4	The walls are 9800 cubits round and 8 high, with 1 gateway on each side. Wún táloyè is the governor.

Date 1834	Names of places	Taings	Remarks
15th.	Slept at the city of Koun-hien.	4	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 8 high, with 1 gateway on each side. Koun táloyé is the governor.
16th.	Slept at city of Yan-tsé-hien.	6	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Lí-tá-yeng is the governor.
17th.	Slept at Moún-hien,	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side.
19th.	Stopt at the city of Huaik-kyeng-fú to change horses and porters, (Hoai-king?) . . .	6	Hú táloyé is the governor. The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Wún táloyé is the governor.
18th.	Slept at the city of Tsán-fú, . .	4	The walls are 5600 cubits round and ten high, with two gateways on the eastern and one on each of the other three sides. Shyán táloyé is the governor.
19th.	Stopt at the city Tsheng-huá-yí to change horses and porters,	3	The walls are 2100 cubits round and 8 high, with an arched gateway of brick having a double-roofed shed over it on each of the four sides. Hô-ní-hien is the governor.
19th.	Passed the city Tit-su-hein, . .	8	The walls are 21,000 cubits round and ten high, with an arched gateway of brick covered by a double roofed shed on each side. The walls have also parapets of brick.
19th.	Slept at Hô-yá-hien city, . . .	2	The walls are 17,500 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Shyá táloyé is the governor.
20th.	Stopt at the city of Shyeng-nán-hien, to change horses and porters,	2	The walls are 6300 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Tsú-tá-la is the governor.
20th.	Slept at the city of We-kue-fú, (Que-kiun?) where we joined again the road which the governor of Bamoo traveled in 1823,	5	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyán táloyé and Tshein táloyé are the governors.
21st.	Stopt at the city of Khyí-hieng, 2 taings distant from the above,	2	The walls are of mud with brick parapets. They are 7000 cubits round and two high, with an arched gateway of brick, covered by a double-roofed shed on each of the 4 sides.
21st.	Passed through the city of Tsan-tek-fú, (Tchang-te), . . .	—	The walls are 6300 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Hú táloyé and Tsán táloyé are the governors.
21st.	Passed the figure of a nat 70 cubits high within a 4 roofed building, and having a figure of Dipengara Budha on its head, half a taing distant from the above,	—	
21st.	Slept at the village of Yí-koun, distant from We-kue-fú,	12	
22d.	Passed through the city of Tsan-chow,	—	The walls of this city are 6300 cubits round and ten high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lyó táloyé is the governor.
22d.	Slept at Oun-lô-kyeng, distant from Yí-koun,	11	

Date.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks
1834.			
Jan.	Slept at the city of Han-tan		
23d.	hien,.....	10	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 12 high, with 1 gateway on each side. Yoún táloyé is the governor.
24th	Stopt at the city of Youn-leng hien, to change horses and porters,.....	5	The walls are 5600 cubits round and twelve high, with one gateway on each of the four sides, and Hô táloyé is the governor.
24th.	Passed through the city of Shya-hôk-hien,.....	3	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Yuéng táloyé is the governor.
24th.	Slept at the city of Yuon-tek fú, (Chun-ti?).....	5	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshán táloyé is the governor.
25th.	Passed through the city of Nne-shyú-hien,.....	6	The walls are 5000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyó táloyé is the governor.
25th.	Slept at the city of Pô-shya hien,.....	6	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Nyó táloyé is the governor.
26th.	Stopped at the city of Tsank-chow, to change horses and porters, (Teha?),.....	6	The walls are 14,000 cubits round and fourteen high, with one gateway on each side. Teng táloyé is the governor.
26th.	Slept at the city of Luon-tshoun-hien,.....	6	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Hú táloyé is the governor.
27th.	Slept at the city of Tseng-tein fú, (Tching-ting,).....	6	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Li táloyé is the governor.
28th	Stopped at the city of Teng-chow, to change horses and porters (Ting),.....	3	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Hú táloyé is the governor.
28th.	Passed through the city of Wún-tu-hien,.....	6	The walls are 14,000 cubits round and 10 high, with one gateway on each side. Yó táloyé is the governor. (The route of the mission of 1787 makes this place much more distant from Tseng-tein-fú.—B.)
28th.	Slept at the village of Myeng-yí-teng,.....	3	
29th.	Slept at the village of Pnon-tsheit-khyó,.....	12	
30th.	Slept at the city of Pauk-teng fú, where a governor resides, (Pao-ting,).....	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshi-hauk-yé is the tsungtshé, and Tshein táloyé and Oun táloyé are the governors.
31st.	Stopped at the city of Ngan-shyú-hien, to change horses and porters,.....	5	The walls are 5600 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshein táloyé is the governor.
31st.	Slept at the village of Pe-khô,.....	6	
Feb.	Passed through the city of Teng-tsí hien,.....	2	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyó táloyé is the governor.
1st.	Slept at the city of Tsuechow (Tso-tcheou?),.....	7	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 13 high, with 2 gateways on the eastern, and one on each of the other three sides. Tshauk táloyé is the governor.
2d.	Slept at the city of Leng-yan-hien,.....	7	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 10 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshein táloyé is the governor.
3d.	Reached the city of Pè-kyín, (Peking), the residence of the emperor of China.....	10	

“From the city of Mō-myín to Peking, there is a fortified chokey or post, with an officer at every taing or half taing of the road as considered necessary; and from a distance of 10 days before you reach Peking to that city, there is at intervals of one quarter of a taing, and between every two chokies, a small building with a centinel on duty, At each chokey the guard of four or five men came out to receive us, when we arrived there, and fired five guns. At every large town where we were to stop for the night, a party of 500 or 600 armed men came outside of the town to meet us, and fired three vollies with 50 or 60 muskets, and in these towns three guns were fired on our arrival at night, and departure in the morning. At each stage we were furnished with horses, boats, porters, &c., at the expense of the town, and officers of the government conducted us from one stage to another, as far as their jurisdiction extended.

“Including the (inner) wall of the palace inclosure, there are three lines of brick wall on the eastern, western, and northern sides of the city of Peking; and four on the southern. The line of wall outermost is 28,000 cubits square and 20 high, with four gateways on the eastern and western, six on the southern, (apparently including the gateways in the southern wall of the Tartar city,) and two on the northern side. In the middle line of wall there is one gateway on the eastern and western, and four on the southern side (apparently one within the other). In the inner wall of the palace inclosure there is one gateway on each of the four sides. The middle wall is ten cubits high, and the wall of the palace inclosure thirteen cubits. There are battlements on the outermost, and on the inner wall of the palace inclosure, but none on the middle line of wall, which is covered with yellow tiles. The gateways in the outermost, and in the inner wall of the palace inclosure are of brick arched, with sheds of three roofs over them. There is a tower at the four angles of the outer wall. There is a ditch full of water surrounding the outer wall; another between the outer and middle walls; another between the middle and palace inclosure walls; and a fourth inside of the palace inclosure wall.

“The palace of the emperor consists of a brick terrace with posts, over which is placed a double roof, the upper part of which is square, and covered with yellow tiles. The age of the emperor is 52 years, of which he has reigned 13 years. He has seven queens but his principal queen is dead. He has one son eight years old, and another four years old. He has two daughters also by one queen. One daughter fifteen and the other ten years of age. He has two younger brothers by a different mother.”

Note. Here we bring to a close colonel Burney's very long and very valuable account of modern intercourse between Burmah and China. We have preserved his orthography, even in the Chinese names; and have passed unnoticed errors in facts; as for example, where he mistakes the six Boards in Peking for six high officers. According to this account, the Chinese have a treaty with the *Burmese* and well as with the Russians, and their country and capital are as accessible from the south and southwest, as from the north and northwest.

ART. III. *Notices of China, No. III. Architecture, roads, inns, and commerce.* Translated for the Repository by S. R.

CHINESE architecture is altogether different from our own; indeed we have nothing in France that resembles it. Houses are ordinarily built against some small hill, if there be any. Where wood is abundant, they are constructed of it, being supported by posts, between which is a kind of coarsely woven matwork, covered with mud and then whitened with lime. The pieces of timber-work perfectly joined and exposed to view, are, so to speak, like a frame that may be taken to pieces, and transported from place to place at pleasure. Where there is a scarcity of wood, the walls are constructed of bricks, or mud [or stone], and the roof of gutter tiles or thatch. In the province of Canton, the houses are almost all of bricks, having scarcely anything but a ground floor. In cities, many have an upper story, or more properly a garret. They must not equal the temples in height, a thing which would expose him, who might be so daring as to attempt it, to a lawsuit, and his house to demolition. As to the interior, the apartments are badly distributed, and badly ventilated. Instead of glass there are latticed windows prettily carved and covered with silk paper. The first apartment entered is the hall for the reception of strangers, which is likewise the dining room, and extends through the house, or the main building, if there are several edifices united. From this hall, we pass on to the other apartments, which no person, not even a kinsman can enter, unless he be a very near relative. There is no floor except in the houses of the wealthy, and no ceiling unless there be an upper story. Seen at a distance, the better Chinese houses present a pretty appearance, but the interior by no means corresponds to the outside. As they are [generally] of only one story, an individual sometimes occupies as many as three

contiguous buildings, and hence it is not surprising that their towns should cover a great space. In front of the house there is always[?] a pretty yard or court, which serves for drying rice, thrashing, and divers other purposes. The rear and sides are environed with trees or bamboos, and if there are several main buildings, they are separated by inner courts.

The temples (much higher, as I have already said, than dwelling-houses,) have usually a beautiful front, supporting a stage for comedians. The corners of the roof, which is sharper than that of a private edifice, are turned up in the manner of a cornice, and on the right and left of the entrance, are placed huge lions in stone, of inferior sculpture. After passing the portal, we enter a spacious court surrounded by long galleries resting upon columns. At the further extremity of this is the proper temple, where are figures in wood or stone of various colors, which though varnished and gilded are for the most part very hideous. Before these are set open dishes, and large vases, bearing lights and incense burnt in honor of the gods. At the side are one or two iron bells, and a large drum. Besides the principal edifice which is properly the sanctuary, there are lateral apartments where the priests lodge. A temple built against a rock, upon a hill, or in the midst of a grove, presents to the eye a very picturesque view. The Chinese erect upon certain eminences towers of many stories in height. These are of a hexagonal or octagonal shape, and much overtop the temples. Each story supports a jutting roof, which does not so much serve to shade the gallery under it, as contribute to the beauty of the structure. Such towers are built in the neighborhood of cities, not at all for their defense, but to secure prosperity to the inhabitants, and to avert calamities.

Where it is practicable the Chinese travel by water. The watermen always proceed at a little distance from each other, from the fear of robbers, and halt together. In dangerous defiles they band together to get their boats through successively. One would suppose that in this way they could make but little daily progress. The rivers are constantly thronged with boats going and coming, not to speak of those stationed at the towns, which serve as shops, inns, and ferry-boats. At night when looking at the lights that glimmer in every direction, one might fancy himself to be in the vicinity of a considerable borough. The next morning he is surprised to find nothing but boats at anchor.

The roads of China better deserve the name of paths. They are not ordinarily kept in repair by government, but individuals contri-

bute jointly for that purpose, as well as to repair the bridges. If ever they are obliged to construct a new work of the kind, they take care to erect a pillar of stone, on which are engraved the names of those who contributed to it, and he who has given most will have his name cut first, and the sum annexed.

The military roads are at the expense of government. By way of precaution, the officer charged with the work, demands twice as much money as will be necessary for its construction. Few roads are laid out in straight lines, but, their direction depending entirely upon the caprice of him through whose lands they pass, they are often obliged to follow the boundaries of his fields. I have traveled on the great road from the capital of Szechuen, which is the best in the province, and it is little more than five feet wide. Should one meet a buffalo or cow in these footpaths, he must turn out and give them the road, or tumble into a paddy-field. I have never seen either carriage or cart in those districts through which I have passed. There is now and then a wheelbarrow in Këangse, Hookwang, and the western part of Szechuen. It is said, however, that in Honan, Shense, and Cheihle, there are waggons and public conveyances.* Wares and merchandize are transported by water, or in the absence of rivers by porters. These divide their burdens into two equal parts, which they attach to each end of a strong pole or lever, and swing across their shoulders. In the districts that furnish salt and mineral coal, if there are no rivers, the roads are thronged by porters, and from time to time small cattle or miserable horses laden with coals are met with. There are few asses or mules, except upon the frontiers of Hookwang adjacent to Kwangtung. The reason of their use here is, that the two rivers which transport the merchandize of the two provinces are there interrupted by a chain of mountains, and the quantity of merchandize being very great, porters alone would not suffice for the labor of transportation.

On all the routes there are inns, but miserably furnished. When a traveler arrives there is nothing ready for him but rice and tea, and sometimes nothing at all; at least unless it should happen to be an extraordinary hotel. For meat, if he would eat it, he must go in person to the shambles and procure it. The same is true of wines, which are always drunk warm, and are found only in particular inns and shops. Their beds are usually very uncomfortable things, so that the traveler is obliged to carry with him at least one blanket. Those

* The roads on which the latter are found, according to the accounts of former missionaries, are much broader than those of which he has been speaking. *Tr*

inns which are out of the villages upon the roads seldom lodge travellers, and most of the time nothing can be procured there but rice and herbs.

There is no nation, perhaps, that has the mercantile spirit of the Chinese. Hence their market-places are very near to each other, and their fairs very frequent. In common towns, there are nine of the latter every month, in those of the second order fifteen, and in the large cities they occur daily. Besides these, there are special fairs for the sale of buffaloes and cattle. At the usual fairs are found every species of animals which the country produces, all sorts of eatables, instruments of agriculture, cloths of every description, etc. Purchases are usually made upon credit. If the vender is not acquainted with the buyer, the latter is obliged to find a man who knows both parties, to act as a security. The Chinese [seldom or] never make a sale or purchase without such a mediator, as without him they could never agree.* This go-between lives at the expense of the purchaser, often at that of both contracting parties. When a sale of land is effected, the number of these securities is never less than two. They serve as witnesses, and if after the transaction a lawsuit comes on, they must appear before the magistrate.

For the mediators, in the purchase of real estate, they agree first of all upon the pay which they shall receive for their services. Each kind of merchandize, or saleable property, has its particular security-man. Negotiations, though they be of ever so little importance, are effected at night(?). In the daytime, the Chinese part immediately, if they cannot agree at once, (?) whereas on the other hand, in the evening they have time, while drinking tea and smoking the pipe, to suit themselves, and conclude their bargains. It is proper to add to what I have said on this subject, that frauds are very common, and that, if a man would not be constantly cheated in trade, he must always be on his guard.

ART. IV. *E Tsung Kin Keen Yu Tsoan, or the Golden Mirror of Eminent Medical Authors, compiled by imperial authority.*

MEDICAL science, in its various branches, is intimately connected with the well-being of the human species, and justly claims the at-

* This at the most can only be true in large transactions. Tr

tion of all who are anxious to remove, or alleviate, the many ills which flesh is heir to. Within the last fifty years, this science, like many others, has received more attention, been more thoroughly investigated, and more widely extended, than ever before. To what high degree of perfection it is destined yet to reach, none will presume to conjecture. Even now, so many and so great are the benefits, which through its medium may be conferred,—or for the want of it may be forever lost—that its practitioners and professors are evidently charged with no small amount of responsibility. For to them belong the important duties—of employing to the best possible advantage the knowledge and means already possessed, of perfecting the various branches of the art, and of extending its practice, speedily as practicable, wherever its healing and preserving influences are now needed.

It is chiefly to this last point—the extension of medical practice in foreign lands—that we wish now to direct the attention of our readers, because it has not received the consideration which it justly claims. An immense, an almost incalculable, amount of suffering might at once be removed, if the knowledge of the practice, now enjoyed by western nations, was in vogue throughout the east—in India, China, and Japan, &c.

It is not easy for foreigners, with their present means of information, to estimate the exact amount of correct knowledge now possessed by the Chinese in this department of learning. Enough, however, has been ascertained to convince most people, that were all the native practitioners in the empire at once swept away, the remainder of the inhabitants, so far as regards their prospects of health and longevity, would sustain no very serious loss. And so it seems to us —‘seems’ we say, because the extent of our observations in this matter does not warrant us to speak in positive terms. There are no statistics in the empire, that we are aware of, that can show the number of deaths in any given place of time, or that can afford data for drawing conclusions respecting the effects of medical practice. The average length of human life may be, for aught we know, as great here as it is in Europe. The numbers of every aged persons in China, appear not to be small, when compared with those of other countries. Be this as it may, there are thousands, and tens of thousands of cases of diseases here, which—though quite beyond the reach of any skill possessed by the native,—are yet such as the foreign hand could speedily and easily relieve.

Moreover, there is so much error mixed up with the little that is correct and true in the medical books of the Chinese—so much that is manifestly either of no utility, or positively injurious, connected with this little that is worthy of commendation—that it becomes highly desirable and very important to ascertain clearly, in the first place, what they actually do know, and how and with what effect they employ their knowledge. To aid in this inquiry, we can recommend the perusal of the work named at the head of this article: but of which, at present, it is not in our power to give either an analysis or a review. The work, however, is worthy of being carefully read by all who desire to ascertain what knowledge of medicine is now possessed by the Chinese. And here we ought to remark, that their treatises on this ‘benevolent art,’ as they aptly style the science of medicine, are very numerous, comprising thousands of volumes. Among them all, none probably are superior to the *Golden Mirror*—a work usually comprised in about forty volumes. It is the best work of the kind that we have yet seen in this language. As a specimen of it, and as a sequel to the anatomical plate, given in a former number of our present vol. (page 196), we will quote from it two or three of the anatomical terms, with their definitions. By these, though brief and more or less erroneous, the learned reader will perceive that the Chinese, albeit they so much dread the knife, are yet not wholly ignorant of human anatomy.

1. “*Arms* is the general designation of the two large limbs on the upper part the body. They are also called the upper extremities; and vulgarly named *yih-pò*. The joint in the middle of the arm, at the place where the upper and lower bones are articulated or joined together, is called the elbow. The bone above the elbow is called the humerus. The bones below the elbow are called the forearm; the bones of the forearm are 2, a primary and a secondary; the secondary (or *ulna*) is joined or articulated above, is small and inclined outwards; the primary (or *radius*) is articulated at the lower end, is long, large, and inclined outwards. At the lower extremity, they both are articulated with the bones of the wrist.” See the 80th chapter of the *Golden Mirror*, page 11.

2. “The *clavicle* is a bone outside of the top-ridge of the sternum, above the cartilages of the ribs, and is commonly called the collar-bone. Interiorly it loins on the upper ribs; externally it joins upon the top of the shoulder joint.”

3. “*Fontanelle*; this is in the front part of the skull. In infant children, when just born, and before the bone is close up, it is called the fontanelle; but after it has closed, it is called the fontanelle-bone, that is, the covering of the celestial spirit.”

ART. V. *Notices of Japan, No. III. Stay at Yedo; audience with the emperor; return to Dezima.*

THE Dutch deputation, or embassy, whichever it is to be called, being now fairly housed in Yedo, those who are accustomed to read narratives of travels may naturally expect from one of the travelers a description of the court and actual capital of Japan. But in Nagasackia, at Yedo, the strangers are far more strictly imprisoned than in their artificial island at Nagasaki; and, except in case of some accident, such as that to be presently described, see little more of the place than the road between their own dwelling and the palace. The particulars they give, rest, therefore, for the most part, on the authority of their native friends; and this being the case, a few words concerning Yedo may suffice to introduce the account of the Dutch proceedings there.

The town stands at the head of a bay or estuary, round which it extends in a crescent; but as the water is, for many miles below Yedo, too shallow to admit vessels of any burden, it has nothing of the character of a seaport. In fact, the harbor is reported by Dr. Parker, apparently upon the authority of fishermen upon the coast, to be as much as eighteen or twenty leagues from the capital.* In buildings and appearance, Yedo resembles other Japanese towns, differing from them principally in its extraordinary size (it is averred to be from fifty to sixty miles in circumference); and although the population is estimated by different writers at from 500,000 to 2,000,000 (and even 8,000,000 by Capt. Golownin), much of this size is the consequence of the extraordinary extent of rising ground occupied in its centre by the imperial palace, to walk round which is said by late writers to occupy three hours, whilst Thunberg gives it the still greater circumference of fifteen miles. This is somewhat explained by the information that the palace comprehends not only the residence of the *siogoun* himself, with his numerous household, and the separate mansions of a whole harem of lawful concubines, whom he is allowed in addition to his empress (as his wife, the *midaï*, is called by Europeans), but also the mansion of his eldest son, of several adult members of his family, and of some high functionaries, together with gardens, pleasure-grounds, and woods—the nominally despotic vicegerent ruler of Japan being, by the customs of his court and government, virtually, pretty much imprisoned within these spacious palace-precincts. This real *rus in urbe*, being a country-seat upon the largest

* [The bay upon which Yedo stands is fed by several small rivers, the largest of which disembogue upon the western side, and their waters combining flow down in a deep channel near the same shore, until they reach Urugawa, a place about twenty miles south of Yedo, where the shores approach each other, and form an estuary for several miles to the ocean. The vessels trading to Yedo anchor at Sinagawa on the southwest of the city, distant between two and three miles; this anchorage is reached by keeping in the channel on the western shore, the rest of the bay being very shallow, interspersed with islands, and covered with numerous fishing-boats. According to Krusenstern's chart, Yedo is situated in lat. 35° 40' N., and long. 130° 55' E., in the principality of Musasi. There are also other anchorages between Sinagawa and Urugawa, and villages along shore, the principal of which is Kanagawa. A thousand vessels are sometimes collected at Sinagawa from all parts of the empire, some bringing taxes in kind, some merchantmen, and others fishing craft.]

scale within a city, is not inclosed by walls, but encircled by a wet fosse, supplied from the river that runs through the middle of the town into the estuary. Across this river, in the heart of Yedo, is thrown the celebrated bridge, called *Nippon-has*, or bridge of Nippon, from which every distance in the empire is measured.

In this immense town, the Dutch deputation is shut up in four back rooms of a house, the more open parts of which are assigned to their Japanese companions and attendants; and here, until the day of audience, they are still more closely confined than elsewhere. The Japanese of their party, even the bearers included, are doomed to the same imprisonment, and the head police-officer is forbidden not only to visit his family, but likewise to receive visits from them; and the observance of this strict seclusion is enforced by placing guards at the door of the mansion. The presents are conveyed to the castle, where, undelivered and unseen until the day of audience, they remain under the care of one of the two governors of Nagasaki, whose turn it is to reside at court.

But at Yedo, this seclusion, lawfully relieved, as at Miyako, by official visits of inquiry from the governor of Nagasaki in person, and from the secretaries of those ministers who have the superintendence of foreigners, is altogether nominal. The *gobanyosi*, and their Japanese fellow-prisoners, who naturally choose to see their own relations and friends in secret, cannot refuse to indulge the Dutch with similar clandestine visits for a bribe; and, in fact, it is evident that this constant *naïbon* infringement of rigid laws is avowedly connived at by government, as it cannot be supposed that the spies neglect to report it.

The Dutch give their reception-room an European air, with chairs, tables, carpets, and the like; and thus, in their dwelling at Yedo, with the exception of grandees who come officially, every one is received after the fashion of Europe. Their most frequent visitors are the four physicians and the imperial astronomer; all better Dutch scholars than the interpreters, and anxious to make the most of the opportunity of acquiring information respecting the latest scientific discoveries: an appreciation of the superiority of European knowledge, which strikingly distinguishes the Japanese from the self-sufficient Chinese. Siebold (whose testimony is, from his own character for learning, most satisfactory) says, that the questions of both physicians and astronomers discovered a proficiency in their respective sciences, which, considering their deficient means of acquiring information, astonished him. The most acceptable present that can be offered them is a new scientific publication in the Dutch language. Many of those given them they have translated into Japanese, some of Laplace's works included.

These scientific men are members of the Yedo College. Such colleges, which the Dutch writers compare to their own high schools, are said to exist in most of the great cities, but the most distinguished for the proficiency of their scientific professors are the colleges of Yedo and Miyako, though the latter, indeed, seems more akin to an academy of sciences.

But these are by no means the only visitors of the Dutch. "We had," says Fischer, "no want of merchants and shopkeepers, who offered us the most beautiful wares, infinitely better and much cheaper than are to be had at Nagasaki. If they did not bring prohibited wares with them, they willingly sent for whatever we desired. Great personages always came late in the evening, and their arrival was commonly preceded by a present, consisting of mercery, lackerwork, fine paper, fans, letter-cases, tobacco-boxes and pipes, or rarities, such as they know the Hollanders value. When the present was costly, the *opperhoofd* always gave

something in return; but it was necessary to do this very circumspectly, and through a third hand, and our envoy was especially diligent thus to win the favor of these officials, on whom our business depends. Although no women could lawfully be admitted to us, the concourse of our fair visitors was greater here than anywhere else. One gentleman would sometimes bring with him six ladies, especially in an evening, whereby our large stock of confectionary and liqueurs was prodigiously reduced. At these visits, the ladies often unpacked our trunks of clothes, expressing much wonder at the form of our garments, as well as curiosity concerning the mode of wearing them. We were thus obliged to present them with some of the more valuable articles, either immediately, or through their servants, sent to us for that purpose. At all events, something as a remembrancer they must have, were it but a couple of Dutch words written upon their fans. The *opperhoofd's* Decima servants, who all understand Dutch, are usually our underhand interpreters; and, indeed, the princes and other high personages who come *naïbon*, prefer employing our servants, rather than the governmental interpreters, in that capacity. These grandees rarely make themselves known until next day, when they send a secretary with a present, and their thanks for our reception of them. They are accordingly received without any ceremony, and often come in the dress of the middle classes, as do their attendants, who, if the prince is right well-pleased and merry, become very familiar, and write down as much of our answers to their inquiries as they wish to recollect. The princes are always friendly, conversable, and unwearied questioners respecting European arts, sciences, customs, and manners, or the locality and government of Holland and our East-Indian possessions; but they never allude to Japanese policy. We thus received visits from the princes of Matsmai and of Tamba, the prince of Mito, brother to the emperor, and the emperor's secretary; from the secretaries and other household officers of the princes of Satzuma, Nagats, Firakatta, Owari, Kaga, &c.; the first of whom brought us a present of twelve beautiful birds, fifty rare plants, a pair of dwarf fowls, a pair of rabbits, a pair of fan-ducks, and some pieces of silk; but all stowed in such nice cages and boxes, that their cost assuredly exceeded that of their contents."

The amusements of the Dutchmen in their not solitary confinement must not be dismissed without adding Doeff's account of one of the shop-keepers who visited them in his time, whose wealth, grandeur, and liberality remind the reader of some of the merchants commemorated in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment*.

"There is a silk-mercer here, named Ichigoya, who had shops in all the large towns throughout the empire. If you buy anything of him here, take it away to another town—say to Nagasaki—and no longer like it, you may return it, if undamaged, to his shop there, and receive back the whole sum paid for it at Yedo. He sent us five or six large chests, out of which to choose. The wealth of this man is astonishing, as appears by what follows. During my stay at Yedo, there occurred a tremendous fire, that laid everything, our residence included, in ashes, over an area of about three leagues by one and a half. Ichigoya lost on this occasion his whole shop, together with a warehouse containing upwards of a hundred thousand pounds weight of spun silk, which fell altogether upon himself, the Japanese knowing nothing of insurances. Notwithstanding this, he sent *forty* of his servants to our assistance during the fire, who were of great use to us. The second day after the conflagration, he was already rebuilding his premises, and paid every carpenter at the rate of about ten shillings (English) per day."

This accident afforded the Dutch a sight of more, at least, than they usually see of Yedo, and Doeff gives the following account of it:

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d of April, 1806, we heard that a fire had broken out in the town, at the distance of about two leagues from our quarters. We heeded not the news, so common are fires at Yedo; a fine night never passes without one; and as they are less frequent during rain, a lowering evening is a subject of mutual congratulation to the citizens of Yedo. But the flames came nearer and nearer; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, a high wind driving the sparks towards our neighborhood, four different houses round about us caught fire. Two hours before this occurred, we had been sufficiently alarmed to begin packing, so that now, when the danger had become imminent, we were prepared to fly. On coming into the street, we saw everything blazing around us. To run with the flames before the wind appeared very dangerous; so, taking an oblique direction, we ran through a street that was already burning, and thus reached an open field, called *Hara*, behind the conflagration. It was thick set with the flags of princes, whose palaces were already consumed, and who had escaped hither with their wives and children. We followed their example, and appropriated a spot to ourselves by setting up a small Dutch flag used in crossing rivers. We had now a full view of the fire, and never did I see anything so frightful. The horrors of this sea of flame were yet enhanced by the heart-breaking cries and lamentations of fugitive women and children. Here we were, for the moment, safe, but had no home. The governor of Nagasaki, then resident at Yedo, Fita Bungo no kami, had been dismissed; and the house of his successor, appointed that very day, was already in ashes. We had quarters assigned us in the house of the other governor, then resident at Nagasaki, which stands quite at the other side of the town; thither we were led at half-past ten in the morning, and were received, and all our wants supplied, in the most friendly manner, by the son of the absent governor. About noon next day, a heavy rain extinguished the fire. We learned from our landlord, that thirty-seven palaces of princes were destroyed, and above twelve hundred persons (including a little daughter of the prince of Awa) were burned to death or drowned: this last misfortune having been caused by the celebrated bridge *Nippon-bas* breaking down under the weight of the flying multitude, whilst those in the rear, unconscious of the accident, and wild to escape from the flames, drove those in front forward, and into the water. Politely as we were treated in the house of the governor of Nagasaki, we were less free there than in an inn, and I caused diligent search for a suitable residence to be made. At the end of four days, we thanked the governor's son for his hospitality, and betook ourselves to our new abode. It was situated in a very agreeable open place; immediately behind it ran the large river that divides Yedo, and being the fourth house from a bridge over this river which many people are constantly crossing, we were very decided gainers in point of cheerfulness of prospect. From a sort of balcony attached to the back of our apartments, we commanded this restless throng, which was much augmented by the numbers whom curiosity to see us drew thither, but who at that distance in no wise inconvenienced us. The circumstance was, nevertheless, noticed, and the under-interpreter brought me a message from the governor of Yedo, forbidding us thenceforward to show ourselves on this balcony, on account of the curious crowds we attracted. Hereupon, I requested to speak to the head police-officer who had accompanied us from Nagasaki. To him I expressed my astonishment at receiving such a message from the governor of Yedo, and not

from the governor of Nagasaki, from whom alone, during the whole journey, the Hollanders had received commands or communications, and who, as he the police-officer, had repeatedly informed me from the said governor, was intrusted exclusively with such authority over us. I added, that I did not intend to obey any other person's orders, and earnestly intreated the *gobanyosi* to make what had happened known to the said governor. The appeal to his authority was not fruitless. The very next morning, he sent me word by the same *gobanyosi* that he fully approved of my conduct, and gave me and my countrymen free leave to enjoy our balcony unmolested. He even increased that enjoyment, by ordering a certain court-yard to be cleansed."

It does not appear, however, that the deputation acquired much new information by this glimpse of the living world of Yedo. We will now, therefore, proceed to the grand object of the journey—the audience of the *siogoun*. This, it is to be observed, can take place only on the 28th of a month; a holiday appropriated, after the performance of the appointed religious rites, to the paying of compliments and making of visits. Should the 28th of one month by any accident be missed, the deputation would be obliged to wait four weeks for the next. We take the account from Doeff:

"A sort of full dress is ordered for this occasion. That of the president is composed of velvet, those of the doctor and secretary of cloth, trimmed with gold or silver lace, or embroidered with gold or silver. All three wear cloaks—the *opperhoofd* of velvet, the others of black satin—but these are not put on till they enter the interior of the palace. The president alone enjoys the privilege of having his sword borne behind him in a black velvet bag; no other foreigner is suffered even to retain his side-arms in Japan. On the appointed day, the 28th of the third Japanese month (which then answered to the 3d of May), we repaired in state to the palace at six o'clock in the morning, to the end that we might be there prior to the arrival of the state councilors. We were carried in our *norimono* into the castle, and to the gate of the palace, where even princes are obliged to alight, except only the three princes of Owari, Kiusiu, [?] and Mito, who, being princes of the blood, are carried as far as the gate opposite to the *guard of a hundred men*. To this guard we proceeded on foot, and there awaited the coming of the councilors of state. We were desired to sit on benches covered with red hangings, and were offered tea and materials for smoking. Here also we saw the governor of Nagasaki, and one of the first spies, general commissioners of strangers, who, after congratulating us upon our approaching happiness of beholding the emperor, entered the palace. Then came the commandant of the guard to visit the president; and here it is necessary to stand rigidly upon one's rank. The commandant required that I should come from the innermost room, which is held the most honorable, into the first, or outer room, because his inferior rank did not authorize him to enter the inner room. I, on my side, asserted the impossibility of leaving the upper place assigned me. The commandant advanced, but paused at the distance of two mats (about twelve feet), whence he saluted me. By thus resolutely maintaining my place (which must always be done in Japan, when one is in the right), I insured the observance of old customs, the restoration of which, if through good nature one ever gives way, is exceedingly difficult. When all the state councilors had arrived, we were invited to cross yet more courts, and enter the palace, where we were received by persons who, except for their shaven heads, might be compared to pages. They conducted us to a waiting-room, where we

sat down on the floor, in a slanting direction, and covered our feet with our cloaks; to show the feet being in Japan an act of gross rudeness.* After remaining some time here, the governor of Nagasaki and the commissioner of foreigners led me into the audience-hall, where I was desired to rehearse the required ceremonial, as the governor would pay the penalty of any imperfection. I was now led back to the waiting-hall. Some time afterwards, I accompanied the governor to the real audience, from which we saw several grantees returning. I was led along a wooden corridor to the hall of a hundred mats—so named, because it actually is carpeted with a hundred mats, each six feet by three. These are made of straw, are about two inches thick, and covered with others of finer workmanship, ornamentally bordered: such mats cover all handsome sitting-rooms. There we left the chief interpreter, and I alone, with the governor of Nagasaki, went into the audience-hall, where I saw the presents arranged on my left hand. Here we found the *siogoun*, or emperor, whose dress differed in no respect from that of his subjects. I paid my compliment in the precise form in which the princes of the realm pay theirs, whilst one of the state councilors announced me by the shout of *Capitan Horanda!* Hereupon, the governor of Nagasaki, who stood a step or two behind me, pulled me by the cloak, in token that the audience was over. The whole ceremony does not occupy a minute."

As this account, although, no doubt correct as far as it goes, does not give a very distinct idea of the ceremonial of the Yedo court, a more particular description may be added from Fischer, who, if he did not attend the ceremony was present at its rehearsal, and may, therefore, be considered a competent witness.

"The whole ceremony consists in making the Japanese compliment upon the appointed spot, and remaining for some seconds with the head touching the mats, whilst the words *Capitan Horanda* are proclaimed aloud. A stillness, as of death, prevails, broken only by the buzzing sound used by the Japanese to express profound veneration. The governor of Nagasaki and the chief interpreter are the only persons who accompany the *opperhoofd*, and give him the signal of retreat, which, like his entrance, is performed in a very stooping attitude; so that, although the presence of numbers may be perceived, it is impossible, without violating the laws of Japanese courtesy, to look around for what should attract attention or excite curiosity."

But if the imperial audience be now over, not so the business of the day. The deputation, leaving the imperial palace, repair to that of the *nisi-no-maru*, or crown-prince, which is described as finely situated upon a hill, whence some idea of the extent of the palace-grounds may be formed, and, negatively perhaps, of the size of the town, since in no direction can its limits be discovered. The crown-prince is not found at home by any deputation, and is probably in attendance upon his father; thus performing his part of the compliment-paying of the day. The deputation is received in his name by state councilors deputed for the purpose, and no account is given of the ceremony observed. Of the subsequent visits of compliment and present-making to the officers of state, something more is related. The deputation visits the extraordinary and ordinary state councilors to present them gifts, but find none of them at home. Doeff adds: "We were everywhere politely received by a secretary, and entertained with tea and confectionary. This last was

* Fischer speaks of this as a peculiarly handsome waiting-room, and says that several imperial spies kept them company there, and divers great men there visited them.

set before us on wooden trays, but not touched; it was nearly folded up in paper, secured with gold or silver cords, and carried to our lodgings, in lackered bowls, by the under-interpreter and our landlord. Behind the screens we heard the wives and children of the councilors, who were curiously watching us. That they did not show themselves in the room was not from any Turkish custom of secluding women, but because it might have led to too great familiarity with strangers." Their concealment might possibly be in part a following up of the system that prohibits unnecessary intercourse between Japanese and foreigners, but as much a consequence of the great difference in rank that separates the wife of a minister of state from a trader. Pipes and tobacco are likewise everywhere presented to the Dutch strangers.

Fischer says: "In some houses, permission was asked to examine our watches, and the president's hat and swords; whilst at every visit I had the irksome task of writing with red lead upon several sheets of paper, which, after the fatigues of the day, together with the inconvenience of the posture, sitting on the ground, became at last exceedingly troublesome, and almost intolerable. It was half-past nine in the evening before we got home from these honorable ceremonies, and then we had to receive a number of congratulatory visits, as though the object had been by dint of compliments, to put our health and strength to the test, for it became at last a feverish agitation, under which many persons might have fainted."

Since the year 1822, it appears that the Japanese government has taken compassion upon the Dutch deputation, and given them an additional day in which to go through their visiting labors. Siebold, who performed the same journey four years later, says, that only the five state councilors of the first class were visited by his party on the day of audience, the eight of the second class on the following day; and the visits described by Fischer, in his attendance upon president Blomhoff, as paid on the second day, were then deferred to a third.

The day dedicated to the continuance and termination of this round of complimentary visits was even in 1822 less fatiguing than the first, and the energies of the visitors were supported through it by more substantial hospitality. Four dignitaries only are named as visitors—to wit, the two "temple lords," as the Dutch designate the ministers to whom the department of religion is committed, and the two governors of Yedo, who respectively take charge of the eastern and western halves of the capital, and they entertain their guests, whom only the Yedo governors receive in person, with a hot meal and *sake*. Doeff makes no mention of the governor of Nagasaki (who could not be burnt out every time), in his list of visits; but Fischer explicitly says, "The governor of Nagasaki did not receive us, probably because he is very plainly lodged here, and, amongst such numbers of grantees, wished to conceal his mean estate from us. In fact, in the imperial palace, we saw the same man, who held himself so high at Nagasaki, trotting about like a servant."

For the few days that the Dutch remain at Yedo after the audience, the physicians and astronomers visit them openly; but how many of their other acquaintance come thus *omote-muki*, as the Japanese call the opposite of their *naïbon*, is nowhere stated; it only appears that the visits of princes and of ladies continue invariably of the latter class.

More than three or four days are seldom suffered to elapse, after the first compliment and tribute-paying audience, ere the Dutch deputation is summoned to an audience of dismissal. The ceremonial of this audience is said to be precisely

the same as that of the former; but it is far less honorable, inasmuch as the *siogoun* does not accept the *kotow** of the *opperhoofd* in person. The state councilors only receive him in the hall of a hundred mats, where the governor of Nagasaki reads to him the same proclamation that he annually hears read at Nagasaki, as already mentioned. After these commands have been communicated, the Dutch president withdraws for a short time, and on his return to the hall receives the *siogoun's* present, consisting of thirty robes of state; he withdraws again and again returns to receive twenty from the crown-prince. He then goes home, where, in the afternoon, the secretaries of the state councilors, temple lords, governors of Yedo, and commissioners of strangers, bring him their master's leave-taking compliments, thanks for the presents received, and return presents, consisting likewise of silk robes, but inferior in quality to those given by the *siogoun* and his heir, and wadded only with cotton. Each bearer of these gifts receives a present of sweetmeats, a paper of Dutch tobacco, and two gilt pipes.

This is the whole of the ceremonial now practiced at the court of Yedo, in the reception of foreigners, as given by writers of the present century. It differs not much from the forms described by Kämpfer, as observed nearly 150 years ago; but the modern relations want the second part of the former. A comparison of the two accounts, including this second part which seems to be now obsolete, can hardly be uninteresting. Kämpfer, though admitted to the imperial presence, was like his successors, excluded from the tribute-presenting audience, his description of which agrees with Fischer's. Still, as the quaint and somewhat prolix old German physician is both more explicit and more graphic, the extract about to be taken from his book may as well begin with this audience.

"As soon as the resident entered the hall of audience, they cried out, '*Horanda Capitan!*' which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly, he crawled on his hands and knees to a place shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other; and there, kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observed in the audience he gives, even to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire; for having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently towards the emperor's seat, and having shown their submission, by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture. The hall is not well lighted, and it is no easy matter to see him, besides that the audience is too short, and the person admitted to it, in so humble and submissive a posture, that he cannot well have an opportunity to hold up his head, and to view him. This ceremony is otherwise very awful and majestic, by reason chiefly of the silent presence of all the councilors of state, as also of many princes, gentlemen of the bedchamber, and other officers who line the hall of audience, sitting in order and clad in garments of ceremony. In the second audience, seemingly an extra audience, for the diversion of the ladies of the court, and immediately following the first, the emperor, and the ladies invited to it, attend behind screens

* [The mode of paying the compliment in Japan differs from the Chinese *kotow*, in being a simple kneeling with the head near or upon the ground, and no knocking at all; this is the highest mode of paying a compliment, and of course paid only to the very highest personages, and to deities.]

and lattices, but the councilors of state, and other officers of the court, sit in the open rooms, in their usual and elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the emperor retired to his apartment, and not long afterwards we three Dutchmen were likewise called up, and conducted through galleries, &c."

But it is hard for modern patience to extract the circumstantial detail; and we proceed *per saltum* to the more private audience-hall, where every one, Dutch and Japanese, is at length arranged in his proper place. Bengo, the emperor's favorite and prime minister, sitting on a raised mat, between them and the emperor.

"After the usual obeisances made (bowing and creeping towards the lattice,* behind which sat his majesty), Bengo bade us welcome in the emperor's name; the chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth, and repeated it to us. Upon this, the ambassador made his compliment in the name of his masters. This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the emperor. The emperor's answer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. The mutual compliments over, the succeeding part of the solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus, for instance, he desired to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name? which we were commanded to write on a bit of paper, having for these purposes taken an European ink-horn along with us. This paper, together with the ink-horn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the emperor's hands, reaching them over, below the lattice. The captain, or ambassador, was asked concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki? Which of the two was the most powerful, the director-general of the Dutch East-India Company at Batavia, or the prince of Holland? The following questions were put to me:—What external and internal distempers I thought the most dangerous and the most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancerous humors and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the remedy most conducive to long life that had been found out in Europe? The name (of a medicine) was minutened down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. They asked whether I could make it up? Upon this, our resident whispered me to say, 'No;' but I answered, 'Yes, I could make it up, but not here.' Then it was asked whether it could be had at Batavia? And having answered that it was to be had there, the emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships. The emperor, who had hitherto sat among the ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw near, and seat himself down on our right, behind the lattices, as near us as he possibly could. Then he ordered us to take off our *kappa*, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us;

* [These lattices Kæmpfer says, are made of reeds, split very thin, and covered with a fine transparent silk within, with openings about a span broad for persons to look through. They are adorned with figures the better to hide the persons standing behind. They are also, sometimes at least, made of ornamented paper.]

again, to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. We obeyed the emperor's commands in the best manner we could, and I joined to my dance a love-song in high Dutch. In this manner, and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the emperor's and the court's diversion. The ambassador, however, is free from these and the like commands, for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or perjure the same. Having been thus exercised for about two hours, though with great apparent civility, some servants, shaved, came in, and put before each of us a small table with Japanese victuals, and a couple of ivory sticks, instead of knives and forks. We ate some little things, and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again, and to take our leave."

This is assuredly a curious scene in the annals of diplomacy; but the reader, who considers how completely in the dark the Yedo government must have been relative to European states and their colonial dependencies, will probably not think the *siogoun's* political questions so very impertinent. The medical interrogatory has been shortened, by omitting the physician's evasions, conquered by imperial pertinacity.

But we must not quit Yedo without adverting to a fancy, entertained by most students of Dutch there, and, indeed, by many friends of the strangers, for receiving a Dutch name from their European visitors. This whim appears to have begun with a man who, in honor of his few words of broken Dutch, had persuaded an *opperhoofd* of the last century to new-name him, and gloried in the appellation of Adrian Pauw; and it was followed up at Dezima by an under-interpreter's obtaining the name of Abraham. The bearers of these two Dutch names became objects of envy to such of their countrymen as cultivated the acquaintance of the foreigners, and the natural consequence was, that Doeff received at Yedo divers petitions for names; amongst others, one from the learned astronomer, Takahaso Sampei, who was appointed commissioner of inquiry in the affair of the Russian Golownin, and another from one of the imperial physicians. The worthy president was loth to nickname such respectable men as these, but yielding at length to their importunity, dubbed the former Globius, the second Botanicus; names too mellifluous for Dutch. A son of the *siogoun's* father-in-law, the prince of Satzuma, and his secretary, were more honestly indulged, the latter with the name of Pieter van der Stulp, his master with that of Frederik Hendrik, the name of one of the early stadtholders.

A somewhat original banquet, given to president Blomhoff by his *gobanyosi* and his landlord, must not be omitted. Fischer says:—"It was extremely splendid, and no expense was spared in order to display the luxury and etiquette of Yedo. On this occasion, many of those who called themselves friends to the Dutch appeared in Dutch clothes, which, having been gradually collected from olden times, formed a most grotesque whole. By all this, as well as by many prompt services, they gave us the most indubitable marks of friendship and goodwill." Blomhoff and Fischer remained twelve days at Yedo, in such friendly intercourse, after the audience of leave, which appears to have been an unusual indulgence.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

The final signal of departure from Yedo is given by the leave-taking visits of the secretaries of the governors of Yedo and Nagasaki, in the names of their respective masters, on the morning of the day appointed for the commencement of the second half of the expedition. But not so ends all intercourse with Yedo friends, or Yedo population. Amidst the necessary bustle of the travelers' preparations for departure, with all the incumbrances that have been described, their apartments are, during these last hours, thronged with acquaintance, as is the street before the door with expectant spectators, waiting, with curiosity yet more eager than upon their arrival, for the last glimpse of the only strangers Yedo ever beholds. The commotion within and without the house is represented as beyond the power of words to express. "We were obliged," says Fischer, "upon coming into the street, about four o'clock, to close our *norimono* against the great concourse of people, who, notwithstanding the harsh means employed by the guard escorting us to keep them off, jostled each other to get a sight of the Hollanders. We alighted near the palace of the prince of Satsuma, in compliment to that respectable old man, who presented himself, with his whole family at the windows. About half-past six, we reached the Sinagawa suburb, where our Yedo friends were waiting us, to spend a last evening together, and say farewell. The next morning, setting forward on our journey, we met, at Omuri, a few miles from Sinagawa, the two sons of the prince of Nagats, who had come thither to obtain an underhand interview with us, for which they had perhaps found no opportunity at Yedo. The eldest answered our compliment very friendly, saying, in Dutch, 'Seen for the first time;' which in their own language, is the expression usually employed by Japanese at their introduction to any one. This young prince had obtained the Dutch name of *Maurits*, and seemed, like his father, to think much of our nation and customs. They had with them a number of attendants, who had often visited us at Yedo, and now took leave of us."

Upon the journey back, the same road is taken as on the journey to Yedo; the division of stages, and the halting-places, are likewise the same, with the single exception, that where the travelers dined as they went, they now sleep; and where they then slept, they now dine; and they undergo the same search by the guards at Fakone and Araye. In the pleasure of the two journeys there is, indeed, a material difference, inasmuch as all traces of winter have now vanished, and they contemplate the fair landscape in its summer beauty, which grows more and more luxuriant as they proceed southward to Nagasaki. But one really essential variation from their former course there is, that makes their return worth notice, and this occurs in their sojourns at Miyako and Ohosaka, where they now enjoy as much liberty as a foreigner can hope for in Japan.

At Miyako, the Dutch deputation is now received in person by the grand judge and the governors of the town, to whom they give the presents left in deposit for them as they went, receiving in return silk dresses and silver. They are not honored with an audience of the *mikado*, nor have they any presents for him, the son of heaven being in all likelihood a personage too holy to be lawfully known to, or even thought of, by Christian foreigners; and they are of course not admitted within the precincts of his court, the *dairi*. Nevertheless, this singularly circumstanced antocrat by right divine, and his almost equally singular court, being fixed in this town, they cannot be passed over. The following particulars concerning them are gathered from different writers, ancient as well as modern;

but it may be premised, that the *mikado* is by some writers called the *daïri*, which, being the name of his court, can hardly be other than a mistake; but it should seem as if the Japanese termed him indifferently *mikado* or *daïri sama*—this last appellation meaning 'lord of the *daïri*,' and that the Europeans have merely dropped the title *sama* or 'lord.'

This nominal supreme sovereign does, indeed, claim to reign by right divine, both as being descended from the gods in a direct line, and as being in a manner still identified with them, the spirit of the sun goddess, the deity who rules the universe, gods and men included, *Amu-terasu oho gami*, being embodied in every reigning *mikado*. Such a claim to despotic power was indisputable, and indisputed, as it still is; but some centuries ago, a military chief, rendering his own situation hereditary, possessed himself of the actual authority, under the title of *siogoun*, as vicegerent or deputy of the *mikado*, to whom he left the nominal supreme sovereignty, and all his state, pomp, and dignity, a nominal ministry included.

In fact, it appears that the autocrat's dignity is now made the plea for depriving him of his power. Worldly affairs are represented to be so wholly undeserving the attention of the successor of the gods, that his bestowing a thought upon them would degrade him, even if it were not actual profanation. Accordingly, no business is submitted to him, no act of sovereignty is performed by him, that has not a religious character. He deifies or canonizes great men after death—the *siogoun* taking the trouble of pointing out the dead who are worthy of an apotheosis. He confers the offices of his court, a real spiritual hierarchy, and, from their nominal dignity and sanctity, objects of ambition to the princes of the empire, the *siogoun's* ministers, and the *siogoun* himself. He determines the days on which certain movable religious festivals are to be celebrated, the colors appropriate to evil spirits, and the like. And one other governing act, if act it may be called, he daily performs, which should prove him to be, in virtue of his partial identification with the sun goddess, quite as much the patron divinity as the sovereign of Japan. He every day passes a certain number of hours upon his throne immovable, lest by turning his head he should bring down ruin upon that part of the empire to or from which he should look; by this immovability maintaining the whole realm's stability and tranquillity. When he has sat the requisite number of hours, he resigns his place to his crown, which continues upon the throne as his substitute during the remainder of the day and night.

The honors paid to the *mikado* are as extraordinary as his situation and pretensions, and all are indicative of, or relative to his half-divine nature; if half-divine be an expression strong enough to express a degree of divinity so exalted, that all the *kami* or gods are held annually to wait upon the *mikado*, and spend a month at his court. During that month, the name of which implies 'without gods,' no one frequents the temples, believing them deserted. To dignify and to guard from violation the high sanctity of the *mikado's* person, is the grand object of all the honors in question. That his sacred foot may not touch the ground, he never moves but when borne upon men's shoulders. That unhallowed eyes may not pollute him with a glance, he never quits the precincts of his palace. According to most reports, neither his hair, beard, or nails are ever cut, that his sacred person may not be mutilated, although the erudite Klaproth avers, that such mutilation as may be deemed essential to his comfort, for instance, cutting his nails and trimming his beard, are performed during his sleep, and called

"stealing his nails and hair." It has been asserted, that the sun was deemed unworthy to shine upon him; but this is denied by later writers, and seems indeed very inconsistent with the intimate union existing between the sun goddess and himself.

What is more certain and consistent is, that everything about him must be incessantly new. No article of his dress is ever worn a second time; the plates and dishes in which his repasts are served, the cups or bowls out of which he drinks, must be new at every meal, as must the culinary utensils in which the meal is prepared. But none inherit his leavings. Whatever article of any kind has been hallowed by the *mikado's* use, even such as cooking what he is to eat, is thereby so sanctified, that no human touch must be afterwards suffered to profane them. To wear his cast clothes, to eat off his plates, cook in his saucepan, &c., or even to feed upon the broken victuals from his table, would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the sacrilegious offender. To prevent all risk of the kind, everything that has once been in any way employed in the service of the *mikado* is immediately torn, broken, or otherwise destroyed; his clothes, which are of a color no other person may wear, are burnt; and hence arises the only drawback upon all this state. The *mikado* is supported by the *siogoun*, and the allowances from Yedo not being as ample as might be wished, the heavy expense of renewing daily, almost hourly, whatever appertains to the son of heaven, is alleviated by supplying his wardrobe, table, kitchen, &c., with articles of the very cheapest, and therefore, coarsest description.

A *mikado* frequently abdicates in favor of a son or daughter;—there are many instances of a daughter being thus preferred to a son, both whilst the sovereignty thus transferred was real and absolute, and since it has been a mere shadow. When a change of reign thus occurs, it is plainly, and simply, and explicitly made known to the whole empire; but if the emperor retains his station to the close of his life, the announcement is not so straightforward an affair. The death of the *mikado* is carefully concealed, until the succession of his heir, male or female, is secured; and then the new *mikado* is proclaimed, with the additional intelligence that his predecessor has vanished. Indeed, in what other terms could the decease of so divine a personage be mentioned?

To guard against the possible failure of an heir in the direct line of these successors and representatives of the gods, the *mikado* has twelve lawful wives, the only individual in Japan indulged with polygamy; although fidelity to his one wife is not held to be the duty of a husband. These twelve empresses the *mikado* usually selects from among the ladies of his court, and they are distinguished from other Japanese women by the form of their dress. Their robes are said to be so preposterously long and large, and the silk of which they are composed to be rendered so stiff and heavy, by inwrought gold and silver flowers, as nearly to incapacitate them from moving; while Klaproth, taking no notice of their splendor, states that they, like the *mikado*, never put a robe on a second time; and adds, that when visiting the *mikado*, their hair hangs loose, though at other times properly dressed. The two statements of the magnificence, and the constant renovation of the robes of the empresses, are manifestly inconsistent with what has been said of the coarseness of the *mikado's* own dress upon this very account; and probably the truth is, that the internal economy of this completely secluded court is, of all other subjects, the one upon which foreigners are most likely to be led into error. All that can be done is to collect and compare

the different reports; and, to conclude the article of dress, it may be added, that the robes of the *daïri*, male and female, are almost as inconveniently large and long as those of the *mikado's* consorts, and in this respect they are generally imitated by the priesthood.

After all that has been said of the superstitions and absurdities still prevalent with respect to the *mikado*, is the reader prepared for the information that his *daïri* is the spot in Japan where literature is most diligently and enthusiastically cultivated? More science there may possibly be in the college at Yedo, although the *daïri* is said to constitute a college or academy for the cultivation of theology and other sciences. But, at any rate, the poets, historians, and philosophic moralists most universally admired by their countrymen, are to be found amongst the male and female members of the *daïri*, of whose lives literature is both the business and the pleasure.

To guard against the intermingling of any ambitious views with these laudable pursuits, is the business of the grand judge; and the watch he is required to keep over the movements of the *daïri* is facilitated by the position of his residence opposite to the palace-gate. His office, is, however, by no means a pleasant or easy one. The slightest negligence would incur the *siogoun's* anger, and any over-officiousness might provoke the resentment of the *mikado*, to whom he is professedly only the humble representative of a dutiful vicegerent. In either case, he could have no choice but to rip up his abdomen, after the established fashion of Japanese suicide.

The *daïri* does not occupy an extent of territory comparable with the *siogoun's* palace; nor can Miyako compete in size with Yedo. The whole population is estimated at little more than half a million;* but if inferior in magnitude, we are assured that the town is the most beautiful, in itself and in its surrounding fruitful soil and lovely scenery, as also the most healthy, in Japan. Miyako is in fact, esteemed the paradise of Japan, and one of its claims to this praise rests upon the acknowledged superior beauty of its women.

The Dutch spend some days here, which are chiefly occupied in purchases, the best of every manufacture being sent hither. Various celebrated temples are exhibited to them; and in the gardens of one of these, tents are pitched, under which to give them a banquet. The numbers who throng to this entertainment, to gaze at the foreigners, are spoken of by their Dutch guests as exceeding any crowd in which they have ever found themselves, in Japan or elsewhere: the object of the givers of the entertainment being apparently much more to gratify the inhabitants with a sight of the strangers from a distant land, than to amuse the Dutch deputation. The two are, however, far from being incompatible.

From Miyako, boats convey the travelers, in a day and a night, down the river to Ohosaka, where they make a much longer stay, and enjoy a greater variety of amusements. They are now permitted to view the town, which is said to be well worth exploring. Its dimensions are not given, but may be conjectured from two facts stated, namely, that it contains upwards of a hundred bridges over the river and the several canals or branches led off from the main stream, and that the citizens boast of being able to raise an army of eighty thousand men from their own population alone. Not only is it inhabited by the

* Six hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the *daïri*, however; the members of which are probably too lofty to be numbered in any census.

most considerable and the wealthiest merchants of the empire, as being the great mart of commerce, whither the foreign goods brought by the few permitted Dutch and Chinese vessels are sent from Nagasaki; it is also a manufacturing town, and the manufactories visited by the deputation are spoken of favorably. Ohosaka is fortified in the Japanese unskillful guise, and is further protected by a castle on one side of the town, the commander of which is of higher rank than the governor, but without authority over, or connexion with him.

The presents are now formally delivered to the governor, in a regular audience, after which the donors are magnificently as well as hospitably feasted by him. Other parties of pleasure follow. The governor's race-course is visited, but no mention is made of the races; and president Doeff commemorates, as that which seemingly most impressed him, one especial entertainment at a tea-house, where, he says such hearty joy reigned, that he still, at this distance of time, recollects it with delight.

But an amusement more calculated to gratify the reader is the theatre, which should seem to be superior, at Ohosaka at least, to any other visited by the Dutch, for persons, who never allude to plays at Nagasaki, dwell upon those they have seen at the former town, on their return from Yedo.

The Ohosaka theatre is described as very large; containing, besides the pit, three tiers of seats, elegantly ornamented like the boxes of European theatres. The decorations, scenery, and dresses, are said to be handsome, and in good taste; but this eulogy must be received with some little modification, inasmuch as it appears that "it is occasionally difficult for a stranger to comprehend the decorations, on account of the extraordinary manner of placing the lines in the paintings." A perplexity resulting, probably, from the total absence, in Japanese painting, of perspective, upon which the effect of scenery wholly depends.

Unfortunately, not only have we no translation of any Japanese play, but no writer has hitherto given such an analysis of any piece, as might afford the means of forming an opinion respecting the state of the dramatic art in Japan. A few general notions are all that can be gathered. The Japanese plays appear to be mostly founded on national history or tradition, representing the feats, exploits, and loves of ancient Japanese heroes and gods; a few, however, turn upon imaginary love-adventures, and others may be called didactic, being designed to illustrate and enforce some moral precept. The general tendency of these pieces is said to be excellent; although they are, as indeed they must necessarily be, so characteristic of the people, as to render the praise somewhat startling to minds more delicately organized than those of the Japanese. "They are often," says Fischer, "very instructive and useful. In their heroic dramas, the thirst for revenge shines preëminent as a national characteristic, but always in union with a lofty courage. I saw a theatrical representation of one of their punishments by torture, which was astoundingly cruel."

These horrible as well as tragical scenes are blended, according to Meylen, with comedy; and any such law as that of the unities of time and place appears to be altogether unknown. One play often dramatizes the birth, life, and death of its hero, whilst the scene changes from island to island, and passes over to the continent, if it does not even ascend from earth to heaven, when the adventures of a deity form the subject. The only additional information given touching the plays themselves is, that more than two persons are seldom, if ever, upon the stage at once.

The actors are said to consider declamation as the most important part of their art; and from the astonishment expressed at their maintaining for a quarter of an hour together an unnaturally raised, strained, and passionate tone of voice, it must be inferred that their style of declamation is ranting. What is esteemed the perfection of histrionic talent, however, is one actor's performing several different characters in one and the same piece. This frequent alternation of the parts played by one individual is of course much facilitated by the small number of persons who appear upon the stage together: and it is not unlikely to have given rise to a singular practice of the Japanese theatre; the performers are said frequently, if not habitually, to pass through the pit in their way on to the stage; the reason assigned for which is, that the audience may be the more familiarly acquainted with the costume and appearance of each character. If this species of knowledge is so much more difficult to be impressed upon a Japanese audience than upon any other, it must probably be from the frequent breaking of the association of each actor with his especial character, elsewhere established once for all for each play.

Actresses there are none in Japan; the female parts are therefore filled by boys; but it does not clearly appear whether this proceeds from the excessive fatigue of the profession in that country, to which no woman's strength is thought equal, or from the utter contempt in which actors, although extravagantly remunerated, are held, and which no woman can be suffered to incur. This contempt originates in an idea, that the man who will temporarily renounce his own character, and assume one foreign to his nature, for the amusement of others, can have no sense of honor; and, as a common consequence of being despised, the Japanese actors are said to be distinguished for immorality and licentiousness. In common justice to the players, the concluding remark of one of the Dutch critics (Fischer), who speaks contemptuously of their skill in the histrionic art, should be added: "This satisfactory and inartificial representation in all respects surpassed our expectations."

But, perhaps, the most original point relative to the Japanese stage yet remains to be told. It is the mode, or rather the order, of performance. Three pieces are frequently represented the same day; not, as with us, successively, in wholes, but in portions or fragments, *viz.* first, the first act of one, then the first act of a second, then the first act of a third; and then, returning to the first play, the second act of this first play, and, successively, the second acts of the second and third plays, and so on, till all three are completed. Thus any of the audience who wish only to see one of these pieces, or who dislike the confinement of sitting out the whole—it need hardly be said that the three tragi-comedies occupy great part of a day, from early in the afternoon to late in the evening—may withdraw to smoke, drink *sake*, or attend to business, whilst the pieces they care not to see take their turn of representation, coming back refreshed to witness the next act of the favorite drama. The Japanese ladies, however, so far from objecting to the length of time to be spent in the theatre, appear to consider it as a peculiarly happy opportunity for displaying the stores of their respective wardrobes. They are attended to the theatre by their female servants, with an ample supply of dresses, and repeatedly change their attire in the course of the afternoon and evening. The theatre is said to be a very favorite amusement of the Japanese, but it is also very costly; and, in that country, few persons can afford to indulge in unnecessary expenses.

Before leaving Ohosaka,* the Dutch députation receive the goods bespoken on their way to Yedo. On the island of Nippon, they likewise provide themselves, amongst other things, with a stock of charcoal, an article of first necessity, and said to be very expensive at Dezima, whither all are dispatched by water, along with the heavy baggage.

The last night of the journey, the travelers sleep at Yagami, where their friends, interpreters, and others, from Nagasaki meet to congratulate them upon the prosperous termination of their expedition. Here, too, their trunks and baggage are examined and sealed up; but the investigation is conducted with a forbearance that allows the prohibited wares, that are well known to have been purchased, to pass undiscovered.

The next morning, every person acquainted with the Dutch meets them between Yagami and Nagasaki. Upon the arrival of the bark with the remainder of the baggage, the president gives the *gobanyosi*, who has accompanied him, an entertainment. A few days, afterwards, he pays the governor of Nagasaki a visit, and with that closes the ceremony of the periodical journey to Yedo.

As we are now to turn from the personal narrative of the Dutch, (to adopt an expression of modern travelers,) in order to take a somewhat methodized, summary view of their desultory information respecting the manners, government, language, arts, &c., of the Japanese, it may not be amiss here to insert a few matters relative to that personal narrative, which, however irrelevant to the Yedo journey, must not be omitted, as being illustrative both of the ingenuity of the Japanese, and of the friendliness of their nature, when not interfered with by their singular and rigid system of policy; and for which no fitter place offers.

One of the writers, who has supplied the materials for the present papers, Heer Doeff, resided at Dezima from the year 1799 till 1817; consequently, through the whole of the period during which the subjection of Holland to France, and subsequent incorporation with Napoleon's empire, involved the former country in war with England. That war not only cost Holland most of her colonies, but interrupted her intercourse with those she retained, and also that of the colonies with each other. There were, accordingly, many years in which no ships from Batavia reached Dezima, and the factory remained destitute of many articles that are unknown in Japan, though almost necessities of life to Europeans. Nor was this privation of comforts the most serious evil resulting from the partial or total cessa-

* [Ohosaka is distinguished among Japanese cities for its amusements of every sort, and for the wealth and mercantile enterprize of its citizens. The theatres there are famous above all others in the empire, and are moreover stationary establishments; for in Japan, as in China, this amusement is presented to the people at intervals by companies of strolling actors, who hire themselves out by special arrangement. At Ohosaka, the patronage is such as to call forth the best actors, but in other large cities, (as the capitals of different principalities,) the stationary theatres do not appear to attain to as much excellence. In small towns and villages, among which probably Nagasaki may be included, theatrical entertainments are held only at intervals. Companies of players, including wrestlers, tumblers, musicians, and mountebanks, as well as actors, are found in all parts of the country, ready to perform for individuals at entertainments, for corporations on festivals, or for whoever else will pay them. The price of admission varies from two to five dollars or more, beside which the spectators are expected to eat at the theatre on the mat which they have hired. In Chinese theatres, the stalls for selling hot and cold provisions, confectionary, &c., form no inconsiderable revenue to the managers.]

tion of intercourse. The tolerated strangers in Japan occasionally found themselves altogether without either merchandize or salaries with which to pay their daily expenses. This last formidable calamity was alleviated by the liberality of the native government, which at once ordered the factory to be supported in their temporary distress by the Nagasaki exchequer; and the governor sent regularly twice or thrice a week to inquire whether their purveyors duly supplied them, or they were in want of anything; but the Dutchmen had wants that the purveyors could not supply. Though thus saved from all danger of perishing from hunger or from cold, the Dutch languished for butter and cheese, for beer, wine, gin, and brandy, for which potations they found *sake* a poor substitute—the *sake*, it should be said, is always drunk warmed, as is every Japanese beverage, water included. The edible luxuries were wholly and absolutely unattainable, inasmuch as the Japanese hold themselves so deeply indebted to the race of horned cattle for their services in agricultural and other labor, that it would be an act of base and criminal ingratitude, either to eat their flesh or to rob their young of the mother's milk. The use of milk in any form is therefore unknown, or if known, prohibited, in Japan. With respect to drink, the case was less desperate. "They made every exertion," says Doeff, "to relieve, as far as possible, the disagreeableness of our dismal situation. The spy, Sige Dennozen, amongst other things, took great pains to distil us some gin, for which purpose I lent him a large still and a tin worm that I chanced to possess. He succeeded tolerably, though he could not get rid of the resinous taste of the juniper berries; but he produced corn-brandy that was really excellent. He likewise endeavored to make us wine from the grapes of wild vines; but in this his efforts were less happy. He obtained a red juice that fermented, but it was not wine."

ART. VI. *Illustrations of men and things in China. a mistake; a Tartar cheese; tracts of the Budhists; an idolater's oath; an opium smoker.* From a private note-book.

A Mistake.—First impressions are so commonly erroneous in this part of the world, that it is quite enough to say that a book is written by a wayfarer—a griffin—to nullify at least one half of its authority. It is difficult even with the utmost care, to ascertain the meaning of all that one sees; more by far to get at the truth of what is heard. I remember once paying a visit with a friend to a Cochinchinese man-of-war, which brought an envoy to Canton on his way to Peking. We were received with politeness, and contrived to carry on an imperfect communication through the medium of the Chinese language, which each party understood when written. After looking about the vessel, we prepared to leave, and had mounted the gangway

for this purpose, when we saw the marines forming a line on a broad plank which ran fore and aft the ship each side, on the top of the bulwarks. By the time we reached the boat, we heard a stroke of a gong, and instantly a clapping of sticks along the line of marines. On looking up, the captain bowed very graciously to us from the gangway, while the gong struck again, accompanied as before by the marines clicking the bamboo sticks in their hands. What else could it be than a Cochinchinese salute?—and so we set it down as meant to do us honor. The gong struck a third time, and again the click, click as before, with a still deeper bow from the gangway; we endeavored to show our sense to the honor done us by bowing too. Rap went the gong, and click went the bamboos, as before, but following each other quicker and quicker, until both were confounded in a kind of reveille, by which time we were a long way off, when it ceased. I afterwards ascertained that this performance was nothing but their mode of worship at vespers.

A Tartar cheese.—I once saw an account of a ‘mammoth cheese,’ as it was called, which was presented by a New England farmer to Daniel Webster; it was nearly of the circumference of a cart-wheel, and fully required a cart to carry it. In China, where everything goes by contraries, we have the antithesis to the big cheese of the west in a Lilliputian cheese which we suppose has come all the way from Tartary. It is made from mare’s milk, weighs $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz., and was cast in a mold not quite one inch in diameter by half an inch in thickness, having the character *lūk* 福 “happiness” stamped on the top. It ought to be packed in a glass case, and forthwith sent ‘this side up’ to the British Museum.

Tracts of the Budhists.—In order to attract notice, the priests of Budha sometimes arrange the words of their prayers or precepts in various fantastic shapes; when printed, the sheets are distributed among the people, or sold at a very cheap rate, their oddity being the chief recommendation. I have seen a book of prayers arranged like a seven storied pagoda, printed on a sheet three feet long; on each story excepting the fourth is a picture of Budha, and the whole building, with its ornaments, steps, sides of the windows, and cornices, is formed of characters, kept separate by fine lines, but all perfectly legible. On the basement is a representation of Budha sitting on a lotus, and on each side are priests reciting prayers. Small drawings of the god are also interspersed in the different stories, which serves to relieve the heavy appearance of the mass of characters. Even the bells, which are suspended from each story, have characters on them.

The whole, when printed by itself, forms an ordinary sized Chinese volume; I paid twenty-five cents for a dozen of these sheets.*

The opposite page affords a similar instance of a ballad, setting forth the grievances of oxen in general, arranged in the form of a cow, which she is supposed to repeat. It is found in the 8th volume of the *Kcä Paou*, or Family Gems, from which it is slightly varied, and is sold by begging pedlars and priests for a cash per sheet. The substance of it is much as follows, beginning with the character 牛 *tsing* at the left shoulder, and proceeding by heptameters round to the tail. The herdboy's song begins with the character 牽 *he'n* at the wrist of the right hand.

THE COW'S COMPLAINT.

Please, noble Sir, hearken to my tale, and all my complaints.

In the wide world, none has sorrow like the poor cow.

Through spring, summer, fall, and winter, driven to my utmost strength,

My bitter woes, through the livelong year, see not a day's respite.

The plough-yoke upon my back, a thousand catties strong,

The hide-whip's ten thousand strokes, my back and heart provoke,
With vile and brutal words, a thousand times I'm urged;

Their hooting sounds, and my forc'd steps, unceasing never rest.

The hardened fields, and waters deep, hinder my entering feet.

My belly's empty of its grass, my tears together flow,

Looking in hope for early eve to have them let me go:

But how know I that e'en to dusk they'll not enforce my use?

My stomach's hungry, and as I crop the herbage from the dyke,

All in the house, with one accord exclaim, Get out! Get out!

I, among the hills, do only pasture on the varied herbage:

You, when fields produce their crops, harvest all yourself;

When the white rice is reaped, you spread the festal board;

When the old man's rice is cut, straight the wine is made.

Of cotton white, of wheat and grain, a thousand sorts you have;

Oils, hemp, and pulse, all sorts of greens, your gardens full produce

You wed your sons, or pair your girls,—those happy, joyous acts:

You're short of cash, and advertise to lease me out to others;

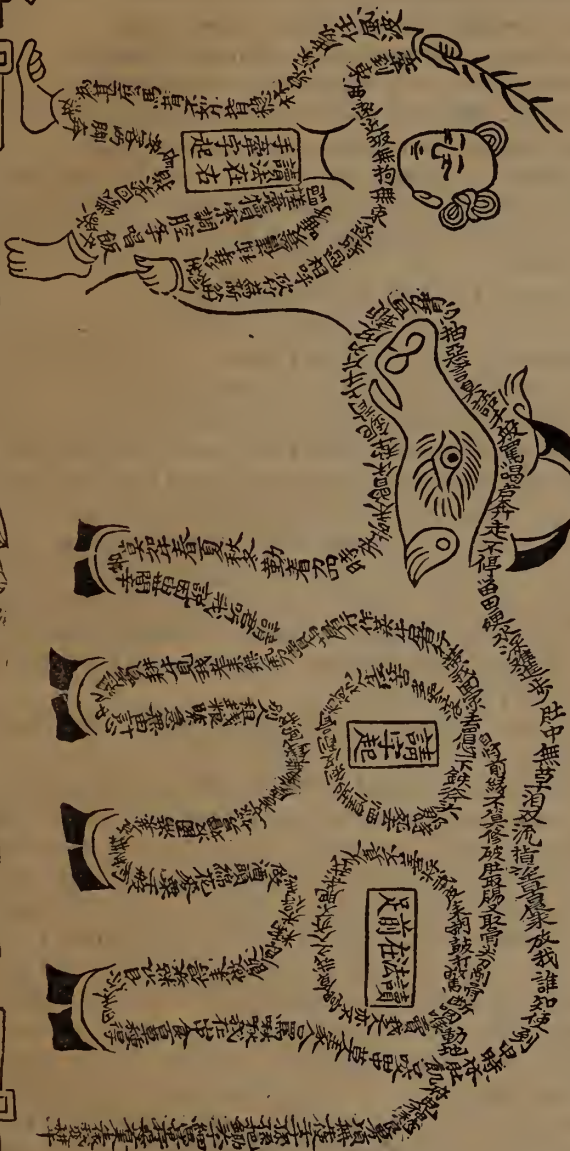
Or, a tax is due, which must be paid, no source for it have you,

When all at once you think, ah! "I'll sell the old plough cow."

When I'm old, you look at me, "no strength at all have you,

* It is said that the Japanese sometimes write poetry, in the *hirakana* character, arranging the letters in the form of a man's head or person, and very ingeniously give the reader a profile of the writer at the same time that they give him a stanza of his poem.

敬重牧圖牛戒



請字起

足前在法請

無從三不取回手和重書重書重書

I'll sell you to the butcher-man, to make a tid-bit cow."
 'The butcher-man takes me along unto his house away,
 Between my eyes straightway descends an iron ax's head;
 Ah me! what time I die, my bitter pangs—"how can!"
 Who rips my skin, who scrapes my bones—what enemy was he?
 While in this life the woes I felt, in many a portion fell;
 I guess the reason is, that in a former life, my virtue was not good
 They ope my belly, and take out my bowels; they also take my bones,
 And with a sharp knife they scrape them clean; they cut my wind-
 pipe wide:

Those who sell me, are never the richer;
 Those who eat me, are never the fatter;
 Those who kill me, certes, they're not good.
 They take my skin, and stretch it on a drum to beat.
 And at the din, the sprites and ghosts of earth do quake
 If of rich land you have ten thousand farms, no ox have you to use,
 Your children and grandchildren dear, must wield the mattock head.
 Pray look at these who think and plan, such wickedness to do,
 In a coming life, and I've my wish, they'll all be ploughman's cows.

THE HERDBOY'S SONG.

We lead our herds to the east or west, to the pastures far and near,
 No one hinders and no one goads us, passing the time as we list;
 Calling to each other to cut the green bamboo, and make our new
 style pipes;
 Or ranged in rows we part the sedgy grass, our old rain-cloaks to
 mend;
 Or thus at our ease, with wetted hands, we twist the heifer's cord;
 Tuning our voices and learning our lays, to sing the herdman's song
 Once and again we laugh, pointing to the troubled rich man, saying,
 "Your legs unceasing travel back and forth, what can the matter be?
 The back of a horse with that of a cow, for sureness wo'nt compare."
 By groves and fountains in the coppice deep, there at our ease we play.

An idolater's oath. The following occurrence is taken from a number of the New York Observer, Dec. 21st, 1839. If it was worth while, one might philosophize a little upon this incident, and adduce it as an instance of the manner in which erroneous notions concerning the Chinese arise, for no person at all acquainted with the proceedings in courts here, need be told that the whole affair on the part of Ayuk was a mere matter of moonshine, as no Chinese officer ever swears a witness. It is not therefore surprising that the two Chinese here mentioned differed so much in their ideas as to the

mode of administering an oath. The summary conclusion drawn in the last paragraph, "that a temple and a court of justice in China is one and the same thing," reminds us of a captain who considered the disintegrated and time-worn rocks near Whampoa an evidence of the superior antiquity of China over other countries in the world.

"On Friday, (Dec. 6th, 1839,) a suit was tried before judge Schiefflin in the Marine Court in New York city, and a young man named Ayuk, about seventeen years old, a native of China, who could speak English tolerably well, was called by one of the parties as a witness. The opposite party objected to his evidence being received on the ground that he was not a Christian, nor believed in the existence of a God. He was then asked by the Court if he believed in Christianity, and he replied in the negative. He was next asked, did he believe in a God, and he said, 'I do; for there are several gods in our temples in China.' The Court then quoted a section of the Revised Statutes, which says, that 'Every person believing in any other than the Christian religion, shall be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of his religion,' and asked the witness what was the formula of an oath in China? The witness replied that a person about to give evidence first goes to one of their temples where there are idols, and that he reads or there is read for him, a portion of the Chinese Bible, after which the witness spits on the ground, and then takes in his hand a saucer containing salt, and dashes them against the ground, by doing which the saucer is broken in pieces, and the salt scattered along the floor. When this has been done, the witness then goes before a mandarin and gives his evidence. The Court then asked the witness by whom had the book been written which he called the Chinese Bible, or whether it was supposed to have been the work of Confucius. To this the witness replied that he had never heard of such a person, nor could he tell by whom the book had been written, nor did he know anything more about it, except that it was the sacred book of the Chinese, and the only English word that he was acquainted with, which conveyed his idea of it was the word Bible. On hearing this, the judge said that he could not see how the statute could be complied with, which enacted that a witness should be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of his religion. It was true that the Court might for the purpose be considered a temple, as it was called the Temple of Justice, and the ceremonies of spitting on the ground, and throwing down a saucer with salt in it might also be performed, but then there were no idols in the court, nor could the judge tell what was the name or nature of the book which the witness called his Bible. Under all the circumstances of the case, judge Schiefflin therefore determined to make no decision as to whether the witness could be sworn at all, or his evidence received, until he further considered the question, and consulted with the other judges of the court.

"On Saturday, Ayuk, the Chinese witness, attended in court, accompanied by another native of China, who was the plaintiff. The lad Ayuk, though an intelligent youth about 17 years old, appeared not to so be well-informed in relation to the Chinese ceremony of swearing an oath, as his countryman, the plaintiff, who is more advanced in years, and from whom, it appeared, the young man had since the day before acquired more information on the subject.

"On being examined by judge Scott, he said that there were various ceremonies attending the taking an oath in China, some of which might be dispensed with, and yet the witness considers himself equally bound to tell the truth. In addition to what he said the day before, he now mentioned that a witness sometimes holds a lighted torch in his hand; but that his omitting to do so, or to use some other ceremonies, such as spitting on the ground, are not necessary to render the oath binding and valid. It would be sufficient, he said, to have the oath administered in the following manner, which was done accordingly. The plaintiff knelt down, and the witness took in his hand what he called the Chinese Bible, and the judge, as does the mandarin in such cases, then told the witness to tell the truth. The witness then handed a Bible to the plaintiff. The witness then took a chinaware cup in his hand, and held it while the plaintiff read aloud a portion of the Chinese

Bible. When the plaintiff stopped reading, the witness then handed him the cup, which the plaintiff dashed against the ground with much vehemence of manner, and of course broke it in pieces. The witness then shut up the book, and witness and plaintiff kissed it, and the plaintiff stood up. The plaintiff then required the judge to put his (the plaintiff's) name in that part of the Bible which he had read, which the judge did, and the witness then began to give his evidence. Prior to the oath being administered, the Court had decided that according to the Revised Statutes, the oath could be legally administered, as it was the form in which oaths were sometimes sworn in China.

"The difficulty in relation to the witness being sworn in a temple was obviated by the witness stating that their Chinese courts are held in their temples, or, as he called them, churches. So that a temple and court of justice in China is one and the same thing. What he called the Bible is a small book in the form of a pamphlet containing a portion of the writings of Confucius, in the Chinese language, and having a mandarin's signature on the cover, to attest its being a genuine copy of the work."

An opium smoker. One of the most unhappy consequences of the habit of opium smoking, if not the very worst, is the degradation of conscience and loss of moral resistance which it produces. No one need be told that loss of moral sense is the inevitable result of continued self-indulgence in that which the conscience itself disallows; but this vice, like a wily serpent, appears to inveigle its victim in its folds by palsyng the powers of the mind and heart, and rendering them at last completely subservient to the morbid appetites of the body. No doubt, the power of moral resistance in a pagan is much less than in a Christian (I mean a mere nominal Christian), and any vice will overthrow the barriers raised against it in the former sooner than in the latter; but the vice of opium-smoking seems to excel in its power to deaden and stupefy all moral sense.

I once knew a melancholy instance of this. A man, aged about forty, came to me to find employment as a teacher. He was then, four years ago, much emaciated, stooped as he walked, and his sallow countenance led me to ask him immediately if he did not smoke opium. He readily confessed that he had indulged himself for about two years, but finding the habit rapidly preying upon his health, and diminishing his property, and blasting his character, he was alarmed, and in order to break it off altogether he wished to come and live with me, where he would have no temptation to smoke. He said he had smoked to excess, spending most of his time for these two years either smoking or under the effects of the drug, and had expended in this luxury about \$2000 annually. In order more fully to carry his designs of reformation into effect, he had bought some strong Manila tobacco, some of it saturated with opium, which he hoped soon also to be able to lay aside for the weak Chinese weed. I gave him a trial, and for four months or so, he mended apace; his improvement was indeed very encouraging to himself. At the end of this time, he

went to Singapore, where he remained six months; there he could smoke as publicly as he pleased, but he tried to resist the temptation, in order to maintain a character among the Chinese there of a learned man.

On his return to China, he again lived in my house, and for a time things went on very well. After several months, however, his dark teeth and offensive breath led me to suspect that he had yielded to his appetite, but on being charged with it, he affirmed with an oath, and wished me to understand that it was the strongest asseveration he could make, that he had not touched the forbidden thing. This he reiterated again and again. The fear of losing both his place and character on being turned away from my employ, were, he said, the principal reasons which led him to abstain. His constant cough obliged him to take medicine, which was the cause of his sallow looks. However, he went on from bad to worse, growing weaker and more attenuated, and evidently fast verging to the grave with the consumption; and in fact, of this he died about a year since. I do not pretend to say that his death is to be ascribed solely to his use of the drug, but he said that his health was the worse for it before he came to live with me. After his death, I ascertained from the most unquestionable sources, even from those who lived in the same room with him, that he had been in the constant habit of smoking opium ever since he returned from Singapore, and had engaged them to keep silent. His own repeated asseverations and declarations before his death exhibited such an utter prostration of all moral principle, a mind so dead to all reasoning or intreaty, blind to the certain consequences of continuing the habit both in himself, his family, and his relatives, that one is almost ready to say that to see the moral sensibilities of a man so prostrate and dead from the habitual use of that which at first was looked upon with disapprobation, is even more sad than to behold the decay and death of the animal life. A long confirmed and habitual opium smoker in China is in ordinary cases far beyond the reach of moral suasion.

ART. VII. *The Blue Book: No. 10. Duke of Wellington to lord Napier; No. 23. Memorandum by the duke of Wellington, March 24th, 1835.*

THESE two are the only papers in the Blue Book from the duke of Wellington. As they are short, have often been referred to, and contain some important facts and opinions, we quote them entire.

No. 10.

Duke of Wellington to Lord Napier.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 2d, 1835.

YOUR dispatch of the 9th of August, and your letters marked "private," addressed to lord Palmerston, to the 21st of August, were received at this office on Saturday the 31st ultimo. I learn that a vessel will sail for Canton from the river Thames this afternoon; and I avail myself of that opportunity earnestly to recommend to your lordship's attention, the instructions of lord Palmerston of the 25th January, 1834; and most particularly the 18th and 19th articles of the general instructions which you have received under the Royal Sign Manual. It is not by force and violence that his majesty intends to establish a commercial intercourse between his subjects and China; but by the other conciliatory measures so strongly inculcated in all the instructions which you have received.

I have &c.,

(Signed)

WELLINGTON.

No. 23.

Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington.

March 24th, 1835.

THE dispatches and proceedings of the commission of superintendents in China, have given us all the information that we can acquire, up to the end of October, 1834; and as it is quite obvious, from the reports and proceedings, that the attempt made to force upon the Chinese authorities at Canton, an unaccustomed mode of communication with an authority, with whose powers and of whose nature they had no knowledge, which commenced its proceedings by an assumption of power hitherto unadmitted, had completely failed; and as it is obvious that such an attempt must invariably fail, and lead again to national disgrace; and as it appears that as soon as lord Napier had withdrawn from Canton to Macao, the trade had been opened, that pilots had been allowed to take British ships up the river to Whampoa, and that the trade was flourishing as ever when the accounts came away; it appears that the time is come when the Cabinet may take into consideration the means of managing and regulating this affair in future. It is quite obvious, that the pretext for the jealousy of lord Napier and his commission, stated by the Chinese, was his high-sounding titles; the reality, was his pretension to fix himself at Canton, without previous permission, or even communication, and that he should communicate directly with the viceroy. It does not much

signify, as far as the Chinese are concerned, what we call our officer in our language. He must not go to Canton without their permission. He must not depart from the accustomed mode of communication. For our own purposes, and for the sake of the trade, he must be a man of naval, military, or official rank and reputation: he must be one in whose firmness and discretion we can rely; and he must have great powers to enable him to control and keep in order the king's subjects.

By the 5th clause of the 3d and 4th, William IV., c. 93, the king is enabled to appoint by commission or warrant, not exceeding three of his subjects to be superintendents of the trade of his majesty's subjects to and from China, to settle such gradation among the said superintendents, (one of whom shall be styled the chief superintendent,) and to appoint such officers to assist them in the execution of their duty; and to grant such salaries to superintendents and officers, as his majesty shall, from time to time, deem expedient.

The 6th clause enables the king to give to the superintendents, by order in council, power and authority over the trade of his subjects in China, to make regulations, by order in council, touching the said trade, and for the government of the king's subjects within the said dominions; and to impose penalties and imprisonment for the breach of the same, to be enforced, as specified in the said order; and to create a court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offenses, committed by his majesty's subjects within the said dominions, and the ports and havens thereof, and to appoint one of the superintendents to be the officer to hold such court, and other officers for executing the process thereof, and to grant such salaries as to his majesty shall appear reasonable.

The expense of the establishment formed under the authority of the Act of Parliament, was £18,200. The officers were as follows:

One Chief Superintendent . . .	£6,000	
One Second Superintendent . . .	3,000	
One Third Superintendent . . .	2,000	
One Secretary and Treasurer . . .	1,500	
One Chinese Secretary and Interpreter .	1,300	
One Chaplain	1,000	
One Surgeon	1,500	
One Assistant Surgeon	800	
One Master Attendant	800	
One Clerk of a superior class, to act as Registrar of the Court of Judicature }	300	
		£18,200
The Master Attendant has been abolished . .	£800	
The Assistant Surgeon might possibly be discontinued	800	
The Third Superintendent to be discontinued . .	2,000	
The second Superintendent to receive £2,000 instead of £3,000. Saving . . . }	1,000	
		£4,600
Total remaining expense		£13,600

I see that his majesty has the power to appoint not exceeding three superintendents. I would recommend one chief superintendent, and one second superintendent. The Act of Parliament enables the king, by order in council, to appoint one of the superintendents to hold the court. I would recommend that the second superintendent should be a gentleman of the legal profession, and that he should be appointed to hold the court. According to this mode of proceeding, the whole plan can be carried into execution without altering the Act of Parliament. It might be expedient to give the succession to the office of chief superintendent, by warrant under the sign manual, to the secretary and treasurer instead of the second superintendent, he being a gentleman of the legal profession, upon the death or sudden coming away of the first superintendent. If provision should thus be made for really forming a court, it would be necessary to frame some simple rules of practice, which might be carried into execution without the assistance of gentlemen of the legal profession, who would not be found in the Canton river. If the cabinet should be disposed to adopt this plan, I would give immediate directions for the draft of the proposed order in council, to make the necessary alterations and arrangements.

Some alterations must likewise be made in the instructions to the superintendents under the royal sign manual. They are instructed to proceed to and reside at the port of Canton. The port of Canton is described as being within the Bocca Tigris, to which point it is stated that his majesty's ships are not to go. The superintendents therefore are required to go to, and reside at, the place to which the Chinese authorities will not allow them to go, and at which they will not allow them to reside. This and other matters require alteration. It will be in the power of the government hereafter to decide whether any effort shall be made at Peking, or elsewhere, to improve our relations with China, commercial as well as political. That which we require now is, not to lose the enjoyment of what we have got. I would recommend, that till the trade has taken its regular peaceable course, particularly considering what has passed recently, there should always be within the consul general's reach, a stout frigate and a smaller vessel of war.

ART. VIII. *Likenesses of noble and disinterested men of Leäng Shan, who lived during the Tang dynasty, from A. D. 618 to 908. By Tingqua.*

"CHINA has a large mountain called Leäng Shan. During a rebellion in the Tang dynasty, there were a great many noble and disinterested men, who strove for the throne. At that time there was a talented

man called *Lo Jin*, to whom the people were willing to submit; he raised an army and exercised his troops daily. There was likewise an able physician, who was prepared to heal the soldiers; he was a divinely skillful man. There were also rich men, who appropriated their wealth; and great ministers of state to propose measures. Some of the soldiers could fly; others could go under ground; some could walk on the bottom, and others on the face of the ocean! There were giants also: indeed, all were veterans in fighting. After a few years *Lo Jin* died, lamented by all that he had lost the opportunity of becoming emperor. Nevertheless they still watched the mountains as before. And by taking from the rich and bestowing upon the poor, peace was effected. The emperor having raised troops and reduced all to subordination, the men who composed the army were scattered. Some returned home to engage in agricultural pursuits, some devoted themselves to literature, others engaged in commerce. From that time, all those men were dispersed."

The foregoing paragraph has been *got up* by *Tingqua*, and accompanies the likenesses—something more than one hundred in number, neatly bound in a folio volume. The likenesses present us with men, women, and children—heroes and heroines, scholars, councilors, &c. They exhibit a great diversity of character and costume. Some are clad in coats of mail, belted and booted and armed ready for the fight. Some are carrying bows and arrows; others are supplied with spears, lances, swords, and shields. Some are mounted on horseback; most, however, are on foot; a few are reclining either upon some solitary rock, or beneath a fir tree or an elm. Taking the volume all in all, it does the artist much credit. Some of the faces and some of the limbs of 'the noble and disinterested men' are exceedingly well drawn. The whole is thoroughly Chinese; and those who wish for a good variety of Chinese *likenesses* cannot do better than to furnish themselves with this production of *Tingqua*. The volume having been politely sent to us for inspection, we have ventured to make this notice of it, without asking the painter's permission. We trust, however, that he will not take any exception to our recommending his work to the notice of the admirers of the art.

ART. IX. *Notes on Chinese Grammar: additional remarks respecting the principles of this language; with examples and illustrations of the various kinds of nouns.*

ILLUSTRATION is the best mode of teaching, and demonstration the best kind of proof. We wish, and it shall be our aim, to show—and as far as it is practicable to demonstrate, by series of examples—that the Chinese language is not to be regarded as an exception from all others, in being without general principles and fixed rules of construction. If it be not as much and as rigidly regulated by laws as any other language, yet, like all others, it surely has its *usus loquendi*. Its usages, moreover, are capable of being defined. So clear did this seem to us, when writing out the introductory observations in our last number, that we restricted them to narrow limits, imagining that no one could believe this language to be without its grammatical rules. Very strong doubts, however, are entertained on this point; and a knowledge of their existence is our only apology for resuming this subject in this article.

Some who have published their views concerning Chinese grammar, have given what we suspect are erroneous opinions. Thus Mr. Davis, after having been acquainted with this people in their own country for more than twenty years, says, "*that the grammar of the language is extremely limited;*" and again he remarks, "there is so little of what can strictly be called grammatical rules, that the proper way to teach is by examples, rather than precepts." See his 'Chinese,' vol. II. pp. 155, 156. Now the grammar of any language is simply a collection of principles and rules, derived from its established usages; in other words, it is "an exhibition of the genuine structure of the language." So affirms one of the ablest grammarians of the age. The Chinese have done much less, in drawing out the rules and principles of their language, than has been done by some other nations. They have preferred to teach by illustration, and by examples to exhibit the structure of their language. It is chiefly this *mode* of treating the subject that has induced Mr. Davis, and some others, to adopt, what we are inclined to regard as an erroneous position, and to declare "that the grammar of the language is extremely limited."

As soon should we think of denying that the Chinese have any national costume, or any habits of dress at all, as we should think of

questioning whether or not they possess any definable modes of expressing their thoughts—any habits of diction—or idioms to which their language must and does conform, both in speaking and in writing. Common sense must needs admit the propriety and the necessity of fixed usages, in the employment of the symbols of thought. Were there no such, how could it ever be known what meaning is intended by any collection of words? How could conversation be conducted? How could codes of laws, and records of events, be compiled? In their literary empire, as well as in their civil and social state, the Chinese have, if we may so term them, both statute and common laws—written and unwritten rules. Their standards and criteria are—as in other countries—the best native authors, and predominant usage among the best educated people. In the arts of civilized life, having made no inconsiderable advances, and furnished themselves with one of the most copious languages that ever existed—one in which there are probably more books than in any other—can it be supposed they have no well understood and well defined usages for the regulation of their diction? Can a language, whose origin goes back to time immemorial, used by three hundred millions of people, comprising a great variety of works in all the principal departments of literature, such as history, laws, government, commerce, education, philosophy, religion, and so forth, be without grammatical rules? Was such an anomaly ever known? Is it possible?

The question is not, whether the forms of grammar are the same in this as they are in other languages. In many respects the inhabitants of the east differ from occidental nations; and there are differences, too, among themselves,—and in no one thing more than in their languages. Their modes of writing and speaking are unlike in a great many particulars. The language of the Chinese is unique in the structure of both its words and sentences; and yet it is not so entirely unlike all others as many persons seem to suppose. It is used for the same ends that all others are employed for, and in most cases with equal facility; and the inquiry is now this single one: is it regulated by grammatical rules? In other words, has it a grammar?

The chief difficulty in answering this question, seems to arise from overlooking the nature of grammar, or from supposing that a grammar, in order to be worthy of that name, must of necessity, according to the fathers of all learned lore, be “divided into four parts—orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody,” and contain some eight or more “parts of speech,” having withal conjugations of verbs, declensions of nouns, with “genders,” for all things. Some of these, essen-

ual though they indeed are in western languages, are yet neither required nor admitted by the Chinese in theirs. It should be carefully borne in mind, while considering this subject, that the *grammatical rules of any language are merely statements of its usages*. In other words, they are—and they are nothing else than—simple descriptions of the various costumes with which people are wont to clothe their thoughts. Collect all the principles and rules on which any language is constructed, and you have at once embodied before you a complete system of grammar—a perfect illustration of the structure of that language.

If these few additional remarks fail to convince any reader, who may still be inclined to doubt the correctness of our position, we hope—we beg—he will take the trouble to state to us in writing wherein consist his doubts, showing and proving at the same time that this language is without grammatical rules, or 文法 *wan fá*, as the Chinese designate its laws. We are now prepared to proceed with our essay, commencing where we stopped in our last number.

According to the Tyro's Paragon, the Chinese divide all words into particles and substantives—the latter comprising nouns and verbs.* The four parts of grammar, and the eight parts of speech, so common in our own school-books need not, and cannot well, be preserved when treating of the Chinese language.

The art of penmanship is carefully studied, in order to secure a correct and beautiful character. But, being without an alphabet, the Chinese have nothing to do with the nature and properties of letters, the sounds of vowels, consonants, diphthongs, &c. Etymology also—so far as it treats of the various inflections and modifications of words to express person, number, case, sex, time, and mode, does not exist in connection with the Chinese language. However, with regard to the origin and formation of words, the Chinese does bear some resemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, &c., each and all having primary and secondary or derivative words.

This subject has been noticed by Mr. Lay, in the Repository for September, 1838. See vol. VII. page 255. Investigations, however, have not yet been pushed far enough to determine whether or not they are likely to be of any great advantage to the student. This subject seems not to have been wholly overlooked by the Chinese, though in modern times it has been quite neglected by them. A single example, which may here be introduced, will illustrate this system of primitives and derivatives. Take the word *te*.

* In our last number. page 330 line 17. for *verb* that governs, read *word* that governs. &c

In Morrison's Dictionary *te* is defined thus: "From to *descend* and a *line* denoting the ground: reaching to the ground; low; mean: radical; fundamental; to revert or come to again; to arrive at." No. 9957.

1. 氏 *low, mean, radical*;
2. 低 *low-man*; a base fellow; a vagabond;
3. 低 *low-heart*; a sordid mind; meanness;
4. 抵 *low-hand*; underhanded; crafty;
5. 抵 *low-wood*; the roots of a tree or a plant;
6. 砥 *low-stone*; foundation; fundamental;
7. 眡 *low-eye*; humble; condescending; to look down;
8. 舩 *low-boat*; (perhaps) the bottom of the boat, or rudder;
9. 舩 *low-horn*; to put the horn down; to gore;
10. 詆 *low-words*; vulgarisms; slander; detraction;
11. 稔 *low-grain*; ripe grain that bends down.

氏 *mean = low*
(consulted)

There are a few other words into which *te* enters, besides those which are here given, some of which cannot, without violence, be arranged in the same manner. The meanings derived from this literal interpretation of the parts of the compound are not always in accordance with the prevailing usage: the words, in short, 'do not mean what they ought to mean.' However, many words, which are the original names of common natural objects, such as the sun, moon, wood, water, man, horse, &c., enter into numerous compounds, and generally add something to the meaning of those compounds. Thus, all words which have 水 *shwuy* in them, will generally be found to have some connection with, or reference to, water. So when 心 *sin* is found in any word, it will usually be found to have some more or less direct reference to the heart—or to what is intellectual: and it may be convenient and correct to call such words as *shwuy* and *sin*, primitives, and those of which they form a part, derivatives. So also 面 *meën*, the face, and 手 *show*, the hand, &c., enter freely into society with other words, and form compounds: in sentences, they may all be employed either as *verbs* or *nouns*, or in an inferior capacity as mere modifiers. Such is the genius of the Chinese language, that there are but few words which may not be—and which indeed are not—used to discharge these several functions. This, however, depends chiefly on their position in sentences. And hence the *syntax* of this language—the casuation of propositions—or what be-

longs to the arrangement of words and phrases,—constitutes the most important branch of Chinese grammar. But before entering on the consideration of this part of the subject, it is necessary to notice, more in detail, the three classes of words already specified.

Nouns, or *sze tsze*, are first to be considered. The names of things, and of whatever else exists, are, in the language of grammarians, called nouns. Consequently these must be as numerous as are the combined creations of nature, art, and fancy; and moreover, in consequence of the Chinese mode of writing, being unchangeable in their forms, these nouns are all without any marks or accidents to indicate what, in other languages, are called their number, gender, and case. Their meaning is varied only by their positions and their relations—which positions and relations are of capital importance, and in their place must receive special attention.

Nouns, or the names of things, sometimes consist of a single word or character, and sometimes of two, three, four, or more; and they may be divided into numerous classes, such as compellatives, appellatives, &c. Of single words, the following are examples.

1. 理 *le*, reason, reasonable, reasonably, to reason;
2. 明 *ming*, brightness, bright, brightly, to brighten,
3. 蓋 *kae*, a covering, to cover, for (an illative particle).

These, besides exhibiting specimens of nouns consisting of a single word, show at the same time how that a single word may be a noun, a verb, or a *heu tsze*—the word *kae* being often used as a particle.

Sometimes, also, when two words are joined, they convey but one idea; which two, however, as in the preceding instances of single words, may, by construction, be employed as a noun, a verb, or become a mere modifying expression. Two words joined in this manner are called 蜆壳字 *heën hō tsze*, literally, ‘clam-shell characters,’ i. e. characters consisting of two parts, closely resembling and closely joined to each other. Such are the following.

1. 繾綣 *keën keuen*, union, attachment, intimacy, intimately;
2. 踟躕 *che choo*, embarrassment, hesitation, irresolutely;
3. 怡怡 *e e*, concord, harmony, harmoniously;
4. 郁郁 *yŭh yŭh*, elegance, elegant, elegantly.

Sometimes, as in the third and fourth instances here given, words are repeated, giving intensity to the phrase; thus *e e* means great concord, perfect harmony; and *yŭh yŭh* denotes a high degree of elegance.

The following are examples of two, three, four, and more, single words or characters being connected and used to express a single person, object, or thing.

1. 聖人 *shing jin*, a sage, a man of wisdom;
2. 賢人 *heên jin*, a worthy, a man of worth;
3. 騷人 *soo jin*, a bard, a man of songs;
4. 君子 *keun tze*, a gentleman, an excellent man;
5. 義士 *e sze*, a just man, a man of justice;
6. 仁者 *jin chay*, a philanthropist, or philanthropy;
7. 英雄 *ying hung*, a hero, a heroine;
8. 工匠 *kung tscäng*, an architect, or architects;
9. 輿匠 *yu tscäng*, a wheelwright, or maker of wheels;
10. 打鐵匠 *ta teě tscäng*, a blacksmith;
11. 補爛鞋者 *poo lan heac chay*, a cobbler;
12. 鬻壽板師傅 *choo chow pan sze foo*, a coffin-maker;
13. 吹玻璃師傅 *chuy po le sze foo*, a glass-blower;
14. 鑲玻璃師傅 *scäng po le sze foo*, a glazier.

Examples of these various kinds of nouns, and of others also, which, consisting of two or more characters, have for their final one, 氣 *ke*, 色 *sih*, 夫 *foo*, 子 *tsze*, 兒 *urh*, &c., may be multiplied *ad libitum*. Some good remarks concerning them, by Anglo-Sinicus, are to be found in our last volume, page 347.

Compellative nouns. Language being designed solely to preserve thoughts, so as to convey them from one person to another, or to transmit them from one period of time to another, must always be intended for some hearer or reader, to whom in every supposable case it may be considered as addressed. An imperial edict is addressed either to an individual, or to a class of persons, perhaps to the whole empire. So with all state papers, all essays, of every kind; whatever may be the subject, and whoever the writer or speaker, a direct address is made, or is supposed to be made, to some one, near or remote, whose name is either expressed or understood. Thus,

1. 帝曰卿欲封何爵

The sovereign said, what noble honors do you, my ministers, wish to have conferred?

2. 所惡於上毋以使下

That which you dislike in those who are above you, do not to those who are below you.

3. 看汝以何詞對朕也

See, with what words you will answer us.

李催忽變色曰樊稠何故交通韓遂欲謀造反

Lekeō, suddenly changing his countenance, said, 'Fanchow, why have you conspired with Hansuy, desiring to plot rebellion?'

In the *first* of these four examples, 卿 is the compellative; in the *second* it is understood; in the *third* it is 汝; in the *fourth* it is 樊稠. The 1st and 4th are quoted from the History of the Three States, the 2d is from the Four Books, and the 3d from an imperial edict addressed to Lin, late commissioner and governor, at Canton. In reading Chinese authors, especially when a number of interlocutors are introduced, some care is requisite in order to understand who are the speakers. This needs no illustration.

Locative nouns, or those which designate places, not being distinguished by capital letters, as they are in European languages, require early and special notice. Even experienced readers are liable to mistake them, there being nothing in their forms or appearance by which they can be distinguished from other words in the page. In order to avoid this ambiguity, especially in their geographical works, the Chinese sometimes draw double lines down beside the names of places. Thus, in a work on the western countries of the empire, the following sentence affords examples of these double lines.

撻	ta	準	chan
拉	lu	噶	kō
巴	pa	爾	urh
哈	hu	故	koo
臺	tae	地	tr;
亦	yih		

'TARPAHATAE, also an ancient country of the SONGOURS,' &c. But this, though very convenient, is considered inelegant by the Chinese; and, consequently, is almost always avoided. The student should remember that the names of places *precede* the names of persons and things which belong to them, and that when there are several names of places occurring in succession, the greater territorial extent precedes that which is of less extent. Two or three examples will illustrate this use

1. 中國人

A man of the central kingdom (i. e. a Chinese).

2. 天津菓子

Fruit from Teentsin (brought from thence).

3. 那少年欠身答曰某乃常山真定人也

That youth modestly replied, I am a man of Chingting in Changshan.

It may be noted here, in passing, that almost all names of persons and of places are in Chinese, as in Hebrew, significant: the first example above, *Chungkwō jin*, is an instance in point; so are most of the names of the eighteen provinces.

Appellative and *abstract nouns* need no particular illustration, being no way different in Chinese from what they are in other languages. The former are those that designate classes of beings by common terms, which are applicable to whole species; such are man, horse, bird, fish, &c. The latter are those which denote—neither person, places, nor beings, but actions, qualities, modes of being; such are joy, sorrow, hope, virtue, vice, diligence, activity, &c.; and they are capable of being used, as verbs; and also to modify, limit, define, and restrict, the meaning of other words, which may be either nouns or verbs. But there are words which point directly to particular classes of persons and things; these need to be particularized and illustrated by examples, in detail.

When speaking of things, persons, and places, the Chinese employ a large variety of words, each of which is used to designate a certain class or classes of objects. Of these there may be perhaps a hundred; they are like the words *member, sail, pair*, in such phrases as a member of the body, three sail of merchantmen, ten pair of gloves. These *classitives* are frequently recurring both in conversation and in reading, though they are not always capable of being translated, and frequently the idiom of our language does not require it. Their use must be learned chiefly by studying the phrases in which they occur. Two or three examples of each may here suffice.

1. *Ko* is used to denote individuality, or to individualize, when man and various kinds of objects are the subjects of discourse. It is used when one or more are spoken of: thus they say *yih ko jin, san ko jin*, &c. So of many other things.

1. 一個人 a man, or one man;

2. 一個字 a character;

3. 一個時辰鏢 a watch.

2. *Chih* is joined to almost all the names of animals, birds, to single numbers of the body which occur in pairs, such as the hands, the eyes, the feet, &c.

1. 一隻馬 a horse; or *lit.* one piece horse;
2. 一隻手 a hand;
3. 四隻船 four ships.

3. *Tuy* occupies the place of a dual; and is applied to those things which occur in pairs, as hands, feet, shoes, stockings, a pair of candles, bracelets, &c.

1. 一對手 a pair of hands;
2. 二對靴 two pairs of boots.

4. *Shwang* is used as synonymous with the preceding, and like it denotes two, when speaking of things which occur in pairs, as a brace of ducks, the *two* relations—father and mother—by way emphasis.

1. 雙親 one's parents;
2. 四雙鴨 four brace of ducks.

5. *Pa* means to take hold of with the hand, to grasp, and is placed before words denoting those things which are grasped, such as a fan, sword, nippers, lock, hammar, broom, umbrella, bow, and the like.

1. 一把扇 a fan;
2. 二把弓 two bows;
3. 三把草 three bundles of grass.

6. *Chang* means to spread out, and is joined to things that are spread out, like mats, blankets, tables, and likewise to imperial edicts, which are to be proclaimed abroad.

1. 一張枱 a table;
2. 五張床 five beds;
3. 六張上諭 six imperial edicts.

7. *Chc* commonly denotes the branch of a tree, and is joined to such words as spear, pencil, mast, pipe, oar, cane, &c.

1. 二枝桅 two masts;
2. 六枝旗 six flags;
3. 三枝烟筒 three pipe-stems.

In these instances *chc* is not translated—the idiom not requiring it. So of *chang*, *pa*, &c., above.

8. *Taou*, like *che*, denotes a branch, or what is drawn out into a long and slender form; hence it is used for a string or a line.

1. 三條魚 three fish;
2. 一條街 a street;
3. 二條河 two rivers.

9. *Kcên*, used as a noun, means a space, a crevice; as a verb it signifies to separate, to make a space between; it is also used in the simple sense of between; in numerous cases it precedes other words, as in the following examples.

1. 三間屋 three houses;
2. 四間廟 four temples.

10. *Tso* is a seat, or that on which one sits, or on which anything is built, a block, a foundation, and is joined to the words house, room, terrace, city, hill, &c.

1. 二座山 two hills, or mountains;
2. 一座城 two cities, or walled towns.

11. *Too* denotes a passage, a pass, that by or upon which one passes, and is joined to such words as door, bridge, stairs, &c.

1. 四度城門 four gates of a city.
2. 二度關口 two custom-houses.

12. *Füh* is defined to be a piece or roll of cloth, and is joined to such words as picture, cloth, walls, and so forth; thus,

1. 四幅畫 four pictures.
2. 三幅牆 three walls.

13. *Keên*, used as a verb, means to divide, to separate, to distinguish things, and when joined to certain classes of things, its force is like that of *ko*, in No. 1. It is joined with names of articles of dress, merchandise, and such like.

1. 十件衫 ten garments.
2. 二件事 two affairs.
3. 七件物 seven articles.

14. *Taou* is that which is put outside or over something else, and is used to denote what is complete, and occurs in such phrases as the following, denoting that the works are complete.

1. 二套書 two books—complete works.
2. 六套小說 six novels.

So applied, apparently, because all the volumes of a work are supposed to be inclosed in a *taou* or wrapper of paper.

15. *Poo* often denotes a secondary; an assistant; in the sense of complete, entire, set or case, it is joined to such phrases as these.

1. 五副器具 five cases of instruments.
2. 四副碗碟 four sets of plates.
3. 二副朝珠 two strings of court-beads.

16. *Leih* is a small object, complete in itself, and yet usually seen in company with many of the same kind; it is applied to all manner of grains, seeds, sand, stars, &c.; thus,

1. 一粒米 a grain of rice.
2. 七粒星 seven stars.
3. 八粒珍珠 eight pearls.

17. *Kwae* a fragment, a portion, a piece, is employed for the most part with the names of things of a laminar form.

1. 一塊板 a board.
2. 九塊瓦 nine tiles.

It is here unnecessary—and our limits render it inconvenient—to multiply instances of all the words of the kind under consideration: one of each must suffice for the remainder of them.

18. 帽一頂 a cap, or hat—a single hat.
19. 書二本 books two volumes.
20. 紙三篇 three leaves (of a bound book).
21. 書四頁 four sheets of writing (unbound).
22. 信三封 three letters.
23. 紙七刀 paper seven quires (or parcels).
24. 墨二方 ink two cakes, or pieces.
25. 麵一團 bread one roll, or loaf.
26. 花十朵 flowers ten bunches.
27. 風一陣 a gust of wind.
28. 雨三場 three rain-storms.
29. 羊二羣 two flocks of sheep.
30. 車四乘 four carriages.
31. 布五疋 five pieces of cloth.
32. 棉花六包 six bales of cotton.
33. 天秤一架 a pair of scales, or balances.

34. 行李担 baggage nine parcels.
 35. 洋酒一罇 a bottle of foreign wine
 36. 字千行 ten lines of characters.
 37. 鐘二點 two hours.
 38. 田七畝 land seven acres—seven fields.
 39. 新聞一段 a piece (or item) of news.
 40. 一連幾日 seven successive days
 41. 一管橫笛 a flute.
 42. 一欸事 one kind of business.
 43. 三股生意 three shares in trade.
 44. 二札繩 two bundles of twine.
 45. 一句話 a sentence, or a clause.
 46. 四卷書 four sections of a book.
 47. 八盤魚 eight vases of fish.
 48. 五根樹 five trees.
 49. 十六員武將 ten military officers.
 50. 一圓武銀錢 six dollars in money.
 51. 一位先生 a teacher—a gentleman.
 52. 三串珠 three strings of pearls.
 53. 五層樓 five stories, or lofts.
 54. 一節書 a paragraph.
 55. 四餐飯 four meals.
 56. 二碗粥 two bowls of congee.
 57. 三片薑 three slices of ginger.
 58. 一面鏡 a mirror, or looking-glass.
 59. 四貼胭脂 four papers of rouge.
 60. 九席酒 nine feasts, or 9 tables at an entertainment.
 61. 一版字 a page of a book.
 62. 二道上諭 two imperial edicts.
 63. 九重天 the nine heavens.
 64. 四束禾 four sheaves of grain.
 65. 六臺戲 six theatrical exhibitions.

66. 八排杉 eight rafts (or floats) of pine timber
67. 十錠金 ten wedges (or ingots) of gold.
68. 一邊魚 one side of (or half) a fish.
69. 一的都好 the whole altogether good
70. 七章書 seven sections of a book.
71. 三樣意思 three various meanings.
72. 四匹馬 four horses.
73. 一局棋 one game of chess.
74. 一炷香 a set of incense sticks.
75. 四竿竹 four bamboo sticks, or poles.
76. 八輛車 eight carriages.
77. 十門炮 ten pieces of artillery.
78. 四進屋 four suites of apartments.
79. 三便過屋 three houses joined side by side
80. 一夥賊人 a band of robbers.
81. 一尾魚 a single fish.
82. 六瓣花 six petals, or leaves of a flower
83. 九文錢 nine pieces of money.
84. 三度窓門 three windows.
85. 一顆珠 a pearl.

This collection, long as it is, does not include all the varieties, which belong to the division in question; these will suffice for the general reader; and the student of the language can easily multiply the examples under each, and add to the number of varieties.

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences: truce at Chusan; arrival of H. B. M.'s plenipotentiaries off Canton, with the squadron; Krusen's arrival at Canton; correspondence with admiral Elliot; his illness and resignation; the Nemesis; memorials to the emperor; general state of public affairs; H. B. M.'s squadron; Qualpaert; nautical surveys; the French and U. S. A. squadrons; admiral Elliot's return to England; admiral Kwan.*

FROM Chusan the most recent accounts—to the 21th instant by the Madagascar—are more favorable than those received here during the last month. Intercourse has become more pacific, and the Chinese

are returning in larger numbers to the city of Tinghae. The English prisoners have not been given up by the Chinese; it is understood, however, that they are to be treated as prisoners of war usually are in other countries. A truce was signed on the 6th instant, of which the following is the admiral's official notice.

“General Memorandum. H. M. S. Melville, Chusan, 6th Nov., 1840.

“The commander-in-chief has now to give notice to the expedition, that a truce has been agreed to between the imperial high commissioner and himself, pending the negotiations between the two countries. The terms of which are, generally, that neither party shall advance beyond the boundary assigned to him, and that native intercourse is not to be interrupted. The English boundary has been defined as taking in the island of Chusan and the small islands immediately adjacent, including all within a line run round the Elephant, Tower Hill, Blackwall, Fisher's island, Pootoo, Jaluswing, forming one side of the southeast passage of Dalrymple's chart, and Deer island.

“The commander-in-chief has therefore to call upon all persons connected with the expedition, on visiting these islands, not to go beyond these boundaries, or in any way to interfere with the Chinese, so as to give just cause of complaint that the truce is not strictly maintained on our part. The commander-in-chief is also glad to avail himself of this opportunity of recording the satisfaction he has felt at finding that a nearer friendly intercourse is springing up with the Chinese, and considering how very much the comforts and conveniences of the expedition depend on the extension of such intercourse, he calls with confidence on every officer and gentleman in the expedition to aid him in cultivating a good understanding with the people.

(Signed) “GEORGE ELLIOT, Rear admiral, and commander-in-chief.”

The force remaining at Chusan consists of the healthy portions of the 18th, 26th, and 49th, regiments, chief part of the Bengal volunteer regiment, and the Madras detachment, consisting of artillery and of sappers and miners, with H. M. S. Blonde, Conway, Alligator, Nimrod, Algerine, & Young Hebe, Atalanta steamer, Rattlesnake (troop ship), and a number of transports. A few of the convalescent troops have, we understand, been sent to England and India; and some have gone to Manila.

2. H. B. M.'s plenipotentiaries left the Chusan islands on the 15th, and arrived off Macao on the morning of the 20th. Having brought a dispatch from the imperial commissioner Elepoo at Ningpo to the imperial commissioner Keshen at Canton, the Queen steamer proceeded to the Bogue, to announce the admiral's arrival and to deliver the dispatch. The steamer carried a flag of truce; but on approaching the first fort—a new one around the Chuenpe watch-tower, overlooking Shakō on the east side of the channel—while a boat, also having a white flag, was proceeding towards the fort—the Chinese opened a fire: it was more than usually well directed; but of some twenty or more shot—most of them falling short—only one took effect, striking the iron of one of the paddles and glancing off from the hull of the vessel. The boat was recalled; and the steamer, having first thrown into the fort some 68 pound shot and a few shells, returned to the squadron at Tungkoo. The same evening (that of the 21st), captain Elliot landed at Macao, and the dispatch from Elepoo to Keshen was forwarded to Canton through the subprefect. The next day some of

the heavy shot, discharged at the fort from the *Queen*, were presented to the authorities in Canton.

3. After the lapse of a whole week, on the morning of the 29th, Keshen made his entry into Canton, having however sent before him two military officers (of whom one was 'captain White'), to announce his arrival to the plenipotentiaries: they had reached the flag-ship, and were communicating with the admiral on the same day, and at or near the same hour (10 A. M. Sunday) that Keshen entered the provincial city.

4. The following correspondence we copy from the papers of the day. We have no space for comment upon it.

"Macao, 20th November, 1840.

"To his excellency the hon. GEORGE ELLIOT, C. B. &c., &c.

"Sir,—We, the undersigned British subjects, beg leave to address your excellency on your arrival in this neighborhood, and though most fully impressed with the variety and importance of the interests dependent on your excellency's measures, at this the most momentous crisis in the history of our relations with China, would still venture to draw your excellency's attention to a case of great cruelty and most wanton outrage on the part of the local government of Canton, which we have no doubt will excite in your excellency's mind feelings of mingled indignation and compassion.

"Mr. Vincent Stanton (lately officiating British chaplain here), when residing in fancied security in this neutral settlement, was, on the 6th of Aug., seized, wounded (though quite unarmed), and carried off by the Chinese authorities, and for nearly four months has been confined in a Chinese jail, we fear under other sufferings than those of mere personal restraint, and without any communication being permitted with his countrymen. Captain Smith will have officially communicated to your excellency the steps taken by him to obtain Mr. Stanton's release, but which, we regret to say, proved unsuccessful. We earnestly hope your excellency will concur in viewing the prompt redress of this outrage as an object deserving immediate attention, more especially when we consider Mr. Stanton's sacred calling, which should have secured him from protracted imprisonment and suffering.

"We take this, the first opportunity that has been afforded us, of tendering to your excellency the expression of our sentiments of respect, and have the honor to be, Sir, your excellency's most obedient humble servants."

(Signed by more than fifty British subjects.)

His excellency's reply. "Mchille Tongkoo Bay, Nov. 27th, 1840.

"Gentlemen,—In answer to your letter of the 20th instant, which has this evening been put into my hands, I beg to say that I am fully aware of the unfortunate situation of Mr. Stanton, and join with you in the sympathy you express for him; as well as in the hope that such outrages may in future be prevented. I beg also to express my thanks for the sentiments expressed in the last paragraph of your letter, and remain gentlemen, Your's, &c.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, &c , &c."

To L. Dent, Esq., and others,—Macao.

"To his excellency the hon. GEORGE ELLIOT, Commander-in-chief, &c.

"SIR,—We, the undersigned British merchants residing at Macao, beg leave to address your excellency on the subject of the present state of our relations with the Chinese. Convinced as we are that the welfare of the British trade with China must have your excellency's most anxious attention, and that the interests of those concerned in that trade both on the spot, and

at a distance, receive every consideration, we should most reluctantly appear prematurely to seek for information which your excellency might deem it inexpedient at this moment to communicate.

"But we may be allowed to point out to your excellency that the complete uncertainty which has existed for several months past, both as regards the actual proceedings in China, and the views and intentions of the British government with regard to the trade, has occasioned a heavy accumulation of British property, partly in ships afloat at the outer anchorages, and partly at Macao, the ultimate disposal of which is involved at present in the greatest doubt. The property afloat necessarily incurs heavy charges from the demurrage of the ships; and the property at Macao is liable to duty to the Portuguese government and expense of warehouse rent, independent of the charges to which it must be subject before it can enter for consumption in China. Your excellency will, we feel assured, allow that the British community in China, having received no official communication of the intentions of the British government, or of your excellency, since the notice of blockade under date 20th June, 1840, are only discharging their duty as agents to parties at a distance, in now soliciting such information as may enable them to dispose of the property under their charge in the best possible manner.

"We hope, therefore, we shall not be deemed to exceed the bounds of our legitimate duties in submitting to your excellency the following inquiries:—1. Whether it is contemplated to remove the blockade of the port of Canton until definitive arrangements be made with the Chinese government for the direct resumption of the British trade, or whether the truce reported in a public notice issued at Chusan, applies solely to that quarter? 2.—Whether it has been determined that the British trade shall be carried on in future outside the Bocca Tigris, or if it is contemplated that, under any altered state of circumstances, English ships may again proceed within the Bogue, and whether, as a temporary arrangement, the British trade may be carried on through Macao?

"And, in ease your excellency cannot at present reply directly to the inquiries, (which however we anxiously hope your excellency will be enabled to do,) whether, in the opinion of your excellency, it is expedient that the British merchants should for the present keep their goods on board ship at the outer anchorages, or should land the property at Macao, subject to the duty levied by the Portuguese government?

"The importance of the interests under our charge, and the anxiety we feel to fulfill our duty to the parties concerned, will, we trust, plead our excuse for trespassing on your excellency's time at this period.

"We have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) "DENT & CO. BELL & CO. MACVICAR & CO.
"Macao, 25th Nov, 1840. DIROM & CO. GRIBBLE, HUGHES, & CO."

The admiral's reply. "Melville, Tongkoo Bay 26th Nov., 1840.

"GENTLEMEN,—In answer to your letter of yesterday, I regret to say I can only give you an answer to one of your queries; namely, with regard to the truce agreed to at Chusan; it was entered into with the governor-general of that province, and does not extend further.

"I am perfectly aware, gentlemen of the state of anxiety the mercantile interests must be in to know what is likely to take place; and shall take care to give the earliest intimation in my power of anything bearing on such interests; but at present I am myself ignorant of the intentions of the Chinese government, and can therefore only express my hopes that your suspense will now be of short duration. I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, &c, &c.

"Messrs. Dent & Co, and others, merchants, -Macao."

5. Notice of the resignation of the honorable George Elliot, rear admiral and commander-in-chief of the expedition.

"H. M. S. *Melville*, Off *Lintin* November 29th, 1840.

"Gentlemen,—It is my painful task to announce to the merchants and H. M.'s subjects in general, that sudden and severe illness has this day led the hon. the rear admiral to resign the command of the expedition into the hands of commodore sir J. J. Gordon Breiner. The rare devotedness of H. E.'s motives (so congenial with the calmness and wisdom which are the attributes of his character), will be unaffectedly felt by every person employed on this service, from the gallant and accomplished officer who succeeds him, to the humblest individual in the force capable of understanding the high merits of self-disregard at the dictates of public duty. It would be intrusive to dwell for one moment upon my own feelings of deep private distress on this occasion. And I hope I need not trouble you with excuses for these few observations on the subject of my honored relative's retirement.

"It remains to say that I have been trained in too long a course of anxiety and trial in this country, and repose too steady a confidence in the assistance of every kind by which I am surrounded, to lose heart under the weight of this serious aggravation of responsibility, and this heavy personal blow. My firm reliance on the plain good sense of all classes of H. M.'s subjects and their manly coöperation for the security of the public honor and interests is an additional support to me. May I request you, gentlemen, to cause this letter to be circulated and published.

"I have, &c.

(Signed)

"CHARLES ELLIOT,

"One of H. M.'s plenipotentiaries, and chief superintendent, &c.

"To Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co., Dent and Co., and the British merchants and her H. M.'s subjects in general."

6. The *Nemesis*, the hon. Company's iron steamer, lieut. W. H. Hall, commander, arrived on the morning of the 25th. She joins H. B. M.'s squadron.

7. The late governor Lin has addressed a memorial to his master the emperor, craving punishment, and recommending more rigorous measures against the English. One of his majesty censors has addressed to him the following memorial, which we copy from the Canton Press.

"Wang, censor, &c., of the province of Honan, kneeling, reports respecting the evils that have resulted from our late policy towards the English, in order to calm the minds of the people. Looking up, he implores your majesty's attention to the subject. It is all important to a government to select men of talent to rule over the people; and justice should regulate the distribution of rewards and punishments. After the port of Canton was closed against the English last year, their ships anchored in the outer seas, doubtless for the purpose of selling opium, the cheapness of the drug enticing purchasers. Every merchant vessel which passed they ordered to approach in order that they might thoroughly examine them: those which disobeyed were fired into. The English are said to be presumptuously confident in the size and power of their guns and ships; their daring making them masters of the seas. It is also said that, being necessitated to procure anchorages for their ships, and resting places for their troops, they attacked and usurped Chusan, killing and wounding our officers and people, thus manifesting rebellion, and perpetrating a crime worthy of death without trial.

"Our gracious emperor was pleased sternly to prohibit opium, which must be extirpated root and branch. I am told that in disposition the English resemble fiery and untameable horses. Respecting the Chekeang affair, we ought, besides cutting off their trade for ever, strictly to inquire into and pu-

